FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-218
Tuesday
14 November 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-218 CONTENTS *14 November 1989*

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Bogachev Reviews Geneva Nuclear Test Talks *[TASS]* 1
Joint Group Discusses Safer Military Practices *[TASS]* 1

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Cooperation in CEMA Focus of Prague Talks 2
    Problems Discussed 2
    Meeting Ends, Results Summarized *[Moscow Radio]* 2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

'Roundtable' Views Arms Talks, Asia-Pacific Region *[Agayants, Andrianov, and Vedenyapin on Moscow Radio]* 3
'New Thinking' on Krasnoyarsk Welcomed *[IZVESTIYA 3 Nov]* 7

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Cheney's Remarks on Soviet Forces Analyzed *[Chernyshev on TASS]* 10
    Importance of Mediterranean Meeting *[TASS]* 10
Bush Cited on Improving USSR Relations *[TASS]* 11
    On Forthcoming Summit 11
Arbatov on Forthcoming Gorbachev-Bush Talks *[TASS]* 11
Radio on Gorbachev-Bush Mediterranean Meeting *[Andrianov on Moscow Radio]* 11
Secretary Baker Cited on GDR Situation *[IZVESTIYA 12 Nov]* 12
V.P. Orlov Confers With U.S. Attorney General *[IZVESTIYA 10 Nov]* 12
    Orlov on U.S. Election Procedure *[IZVESTIYA 10 Nov]* 12
    Commission Ends Visit to U.S. *[TASS]* 13
Armenia's Arutyunyan Receives U.S. Ambassador *[Yerevan International]* 13
Commentators Question U.S. Immigration Policy *[Grachev and Agayants on Moscow Radio]* 13
Diplomat on Perestroyka's Effect on U.S. Ties *[TASS]* 14
Primakov Speaks to Pittsburgh Conference *[IZVESTIYA 6 Nov]* 14
White House Spokesman on Commitment to SDI *[TASS]* 16

China

Soviet-PRC Diplomatic-Military Group Holds Talks *[TASS]* 16
    XINHUA Report Cited *[Moscow International]* 16
U.S. Congress Sanctions Against PRC Reported *[TASS]* 16
USSR, PRC Seismologists Discuss Cooperation *[Moscow International]* 16
Laser Surgery Medical Center Head Visits Taiwan *[Taipei LIEN HO PAO 7 Nov]* 17

Northeast Asia

Yakovlev Leads Official Visit to Japan 18
    Visit Previewed *[(Shedrov) on Moscow International]* 18
    Visit Attracts 'Great Attention' *[Moscow International]* 18
    Holds Talks With Diet Leaders *[TASS]* 19
    More on Diet Talks *[Tokyo TV]* 19
    Meets Nakayama 13 Nov *[Tokyo KYODO]* 20
    Holds Talks With Kaifu *[Tokyo KYODO]* 20

  - Speaks on Development of Ties With Japan *[TASS]* 21
  - On 'Constructive' Japanese Stance *[TASS]* 22
  - Further on Tokyo Meetings *[Tokyo KYODO]* 22
  - Kaifu Puzzled by Yakovlev's Remarks *[Tokyo KYODO]* 23
  - Radio on Delegation's Activities *[Moscow International]* 24
  - Exchange of Views Assessed *[Moscow TV]* 24
  - Japanese Emperor Receives Yakovlev *[TASS]* 25
  - Gorbachev Message Delivered *[Tokyo KYODO]* 25

Near East & South Asia

- U.S. Urged To Take Initiative in Iran Ties *[Radio Peace and Progess]* 25
- Deputy Minister on Cooperation With Iran *[Tehran IRNA]* 26
- Katushev Talk With Velayati in Tehran Noted *[IZVESTIYA 3 Nov]* 26
- Changes in Iranian Armed Forces Analyzed *[Andreyev on Moscow International]* 27
- Commentary on Iran's Economic Situation *[Andreyev on Moscow International]* 27
- Railroad To Link Turkmenia With Northeast Iran *[IZVESTIYA 10 Nov]* 28
- 'Awn, Mu'awwad Roles in Lebanon Examined *[Balebanov on TASS]* 28
- Baker, Shamir Middle East Plans Criticized *[TASS]* 29
- UNSC Debates Occupied Palestinian Territories *[TASS]* 29
- U.S., Soviet Officials Discuss Mideast *[TASS]* 30
- Moscow Roundtable Discusses Palestinian Uprising *[IZVESTIYA 3 Nov]* 30
- PLO Official Calls for Attention to Middle East *[TASS]* 30
- Commentary Views PLO, Israeli Negotiations *[Prokofiev on Radio Peace and Progress]* 31
- Gerasimov Meets Tunisian Officials, 'Arafat *[TASS]* 31
- Afghan Rebels Clash, U.S. 'Advisers' Arrive *[TASS]* 32
- Shevardnadze Meets With Indian Envoy *[TASS]* 32
- Political Tensions in Pakistan Viewed *[Batev on Moscow International]* 32
- Failure of Coup Attempt in Sudan Reported *[Moscow International]* 33

East Europe

- Further on Opening of GDR Border With FRG 33
  - IZVESTIYA Updates Developments *[14 Nov]* 33
  - Border Opening 'Solely' GDR Decision *[East Berlin ADN]* 35
  - GDR Order on Border Procedures *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Nov]* 35
  - Wall Opening's Implications *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Nov]* 35
- Discontent in GDR Rural Areas Described *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 28 Oct]* 35
- GDR Liberal Democrat Leader Interviewed *[IZVESTIYA 3 Nov]* 37
- ADN Cited on Anti-Nuclear Physicians Criticism *[TASS]* 38
- Slyunkov Departs Moscow for CEMA Meeting *[Moscow Radio]* 38
  - Arrives in Prague *[TASS]* 39
  - Leaves Prague 10 Nov *[TASS]* 39
- Slyunkov, Poland's Rakowski Statements on Talks *[TRYBUNA LUDU 4-5 Nov]* 39
- Rakowski Praises Polish-Soviet Friendship Society *[PRAVDA 10 Nov]* 39
- Medvedev Meets Polish Party Official *[TASS]* 39
- Rogachev Receives Polish Deputy Ministers 9 Nov *[IZVESTIYA 11 Nov]* 40
- PZPR Draft Rejects Democratic Centralism *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 10 Nov]* 40
- PZPR Party Congress Documents Published *[TASS]* 40
- PZPR Quest for Way Forward Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 9 Nov]* 41
- PZPR Plenum Seeks 'New Identity' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 8 Nov]* 41
- Issues Facing 'Crucial' PZPR Congress Noted *[PRAVDA 9 Nov]* 42
- PZPR Urges Journalists To Shows Restraint *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 5 Nov]* 43
- PRON To Disband in View of Polish Changes *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Nov]* 43
- Soviet Graves in Poland Desecrated *[PRAVDA 10 Nov]* 44
- CSSR Leader Cited on Nature of Perestroyka *[PRAVDA 14 Nov]* 44
- Prague TV Interviews TASS Director on Glasnost *[Prague TV]* 45
- Growth in MSZP Membership Slow *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Nov]* 45
- Trials, Continuing Unrest in SFRY Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 4 Nov]* 46
- More on Mladenov BCP Plenum Speech *[PRAVDA 12 Nov]* 47
- Reporter Sees 'New Stage' Beginning in Bulgaria *[Moscow Radio]* 48

West Europe

- Shevardnadze, Dumas Hold Talks 14 Nov *[TASS]* 49
- PCF, PCI Officials at PRAVDA Office *[PRAVDA 10 Nov]* 49
- CPSU Delegation Leaves for Visit With PCF *[TASS]* 49
- Lukyanov Meets With FRG, French Ambassadors *[TASS]* 49
- Impact of GDR Changes on NATO Viewed *[Minayev on Moscow International]* 49
- TASS Reportage on Nikitin's Austrian Visit 50
  - Meeting With Vranitzky 50
  - Agricultural Agreement 50
- Swedish Foreign Minister Visit Previewed 51
  - Visits Moscow *[TASS]* 51
  - Seen Off by Shevardnadze *[Moscow Radio]* 51
  - Meets Officials in Vilnius, Departs *[TASS]* 51
- Nordic Nuclear-Free Zone Discussions Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 8 Nov]* 52
- CPSU Greetings to Danish Communist Party *[PRAVDA 9 Nov]* 52
- Air Force General Interviewed Prior to UK Visit *[Moscow International]* 53

Latin America & Caribbean

- Soviet-Cuban Amity Body Receives Cuban Award *[PRAVDA 9 Nov]* 53
- Paper Reports Firefight at U.S. Panama Base *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 Nov]* 53
- Panamanian Official Comments on Upcoming Visit *[Moscow Radio]* 53
- Peruvian Authorities Round Up 'Armed Extremists' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Nov]* 54

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Economic Reform Conference

- Conference on Economic Reform Opens in Moscow 55
  - Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Attend *[Moscow TV]* 55
  - Moscow TV Report 55
  - Slyunkov Opening Address *[Moscow Radio]* 56
  - Abalkin: Urgent Measures Required *[Moscow International]* 57
  - Abalkin Describes Stages of Reform *[TASS]* 57
  - PRAVDA 'Information' Report *[14 Nov]* 58

Supreme Soviet Session

- Committees Debate Supreme Soviet Recall Procedure *[IZVESTIYA 10 Nov]* 58
- Nationalities Commission Discusses Minority Rights *[TASS]* 59
- Moscow TV Airs 13 Nov Supreme Soviet Proceedings 59
  - 1600 GMT 59
  - 1645 GMT 60
  - 1823 GMT 60
  - 1929 GMT 61
  - 2057 GMT 62
  - 2209 GMT 62
  - Ryzhkov Speech 63
- 13 Nov Session Recapped; Gorbachev Cited *[Ruvinskiy on Moscow Radio]* 64
- People's Deputies Congress To Convene 12 Dec *[TASS]* 69
  - Lukyanov Stresses Economy in Agenda *[TASS]* 69
  - Agenda for Upcoming Congress Published *[PRAVDA 14 Nov]* 69
- Rogachev Describes Parliament Debates *[Moscow International]* 70
- Law on Legal System Adopted Without Dissent *[IZVESTIYA 14 Nov]* 70
- Supreme Soviet Adopts Draft Entry-Exit Bill *[TASS]* 71
- Lukyanov Chairs Supreme Soviet 14 Nov *[TASS]* 71
- Yefimov Views Decision To Publish Ownership Bill *[TASS]* 72
- Supreme Soviet Adopts Statement on Nehru *[TASS]* 72

Political & Social

Vorkuta Strike Committee Session Held *[TRUD 11 Nov]* 72
Striking Vorkuta Miners Set Demands *[IZVESTIYA 13 Nov]* 73
  Miners Face 'Disapproval' *[TASS]* 73
Coke Output at Cherepovets 'Becoming Critical' *[TASS]* 74
Donetsk, Vorkuta Miners Communicate on Strikes *[Moscow Radio]* 74
10 Nov Kishinev Violence, Aftermath Detailed *[IZVESTIYA 14 Nov]* 74
  Shilov Comments on Demonstration 75
Earthquake Hits Naberzhnyye Chelny *[TASS]* 76
NKAO Troops Take on Role of 'Buffer' 76
Supreme Soviet To Hear Report on NKAO *[Yerevan Radio]* 76
8-10 Nov Transcaucasus Incidents Detailed *[PRAVDA 13 Nov]* 76
Yerevan Rail Operations 'Clogged', Struggling *[GUDOK 31 Oct]* 77
Situation in Leningrad Port 'Extremely Serious' *[GUDOK 31 Oct]* 78
Rail Minister Claims Transport Normalizing *[TRUD 31 Oct]* 79
Railroad Freight Holdups Reviewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Nov]* 79
Republics 'Instructed' To Amend Legislation *[IZVESTIYA 14 Nov]* 80
Baltic Sociologists Debate Perestroyka *[TASS]* 83
Latvia's Bresis Comments on Baltic Cooperation *[Riga International]* 83
Gorbunov Chairs Latvian Supreme Soviet 10 Nov *[Riga Radio]* 84
  Vagris Speaks on Constitution *[Riga Radio]* 87
Estonian Election Law Polemic Continues *[PRAVDA 11 Nov]* 90
Estonian Rural Development Council Formed *[Moscow Radio]* 90
Estonian Official on Currency Conversion *[Tallinn Radio]* 90
Estonian Forum Statement on Russian Culture *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 24 Sep]* 91
RSFSR Central Electoral Commission Meets *[Moscow TV]* 91
  Decrees Establish Election Okrugs *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Nov]* 92
Pugo, Others Attend Militia Day Celebration *[Moscow TV]* 92

Bogachev Reviews Geneva Nuclear Test Talks

LD1111073389 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

The participants in the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the tests of nuclear weapons point out that progress has been made of late in coordinating procedures to verify compliance with the treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests (TTBT) and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes (PNET).

The treaties were signed in 1974 and 1976 respectively but were not submitted by the U.S. Administratin to the Senate for ratification on the plea of insufficiency of verification means.

The two sides have now laid an excellent foundation to finalise work to coordinate the two treaties by the time of a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in the first half of 1990, Paul Robinson, the leader of the U.S. Delegation at the Geneva talks on nuclear tests, said at hearings in the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Thursday.

As prospects for the entering into force of the 1974 and 1976 treaties become increasingly realistic, the question of further steps by the Soviet Union and by the United States to resolve the nuclear test problem arises.

In 1987 the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state agreed that, following ratification of the treaties, the sides would set about coordinating further intermediate limitations on nuclear tests on the way to the ultimate goal of complete termination of nuclear tests.

However, Washington now prefers not to recall the joint statement. U.S. Administration spokesmen openly speak of their intention to block the efforts of the delegations of 41 countries at the conference on disarmament aimed at achieving a total ban on nuclear tests.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union, guided by its obligations to the international community, has reconsidered its own nuclear test programme, reducing the number of explosions and their yield.

The USSR announced its readiness to return, at any day and at any hour on the basis of reciprocity with the United States, to a moratorium on all nuclear explosions.

The Soviet side suggests that the Geneva Conference on Disarmament begin to specifically discuss the problem of a total ban on nuclear tests.

The main obstacles, which the U.S. side mentioned with good reason or unfoundedly in order to justify its refusal to agree to a total ban on nuclear explosions, have now been eliminated.

Specifically, Washington's 'concern' over the problems of verification of compliance with a ban on tests has now been removed.

The Soviet Union is prepared to take any verification measures and goes much further in this respect than the United States.

After a long unilateral Soviet moratorium, the Pentagon's assertions that the United States lagged behind the Soviet Union by the number of nuclear tests lost any plausibility. The United States conducted more nuclear explosions than all the other nuclear powers combined.

Washington admits that an end to tests would create reliable barriers to the development of new systems of weapons of mass destruction and to upgrading the old ones.

However, this is precisely what the U.S. conservative circles regard as the 'main flaw' of the Soviet proposals on a ban on nuclear explosions.

The Pentagon needs nuclear tests by no means for rendering nuclear weapons powerless and obsolete.

The Geneva talks have approached such a line which their further progress may be hindered by the difference of the ultimate goals being pursued by the sides.

The Soviet Union's goal is to secure a complete ban on all nuclear weapons tests, whereas the goal of the United States is only to elaborate measures to monitor explosions in the foreseeable future.

Joint Group Discusses Safer Military Practices

LD1411100589 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—Soviet and U.S. military experts began a series of meetings in Moscow to discuss a superpower agreement on safer military practices.

The meeting of the joint Soviet-American military group began with a meeting between Chief of Soviet Military Staff Army Generl Mikhail Moiseyev and Major General George Sewall, head of the U.S. delegation which arrived here on Sunday.

"An agreement signed in June, which will be enforced as of January 1, 1990, provided the groundwork for a reliable bargaining mechanism designed to prevent unintentional harm to personnel and combat hardware of the sides' armed forces during military activities in close proximity to each other," Major General Anatoliy Bolyatko, deputy Soviet General Staff department head, told TASS.

The signing of the agreement became possible thanks to the Soviet-American rapprochement, he said.

Confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States is increasingly giving way to mutual respect and trust, Major General Sewall said.

The practical implementation of the agreement is a priority, he emphasised.

He said the task is complex but the prevailing businesslike atmosphere promised success for the talks.

The joint military group will work until Novemer 19.

Cooperation in CEMA Focus of Prague Talks

Problems Discussed

LD1011174189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1233 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, 10 Nov (TASS)—During 9 and 10 November a conference of secretaries of the central committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Cuban Communist Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers Party, the CPSU, the Czech Communist Party, and a member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party took place in Prague.

There was an exchange of opinions on questions regarding the preparation of the party leaders' meeting at the conference, and proposals aimed at improving the economic, scientific, and technical cooperation of the CEMA countries were discussed.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party, received the leaders of the delegations participating in the conference. In the course of a friendly conversation, current problems of cooperation and activity of the CEMA and preparation of the summit conference were discussed. M. Jakes elucidated the main principles from which the Czech Communist Party proceeds in the policy of multilateral economic interaction within the framework of the CEMA. In the conversation it was noted that the problems of cooperation should be resolved in a spirit of internationalist solidarity and mutual understanding.

Meeting Ends, Results Summarized

LD1111010989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] The conference of secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal CEMA member-countries ended in Prague today. The Soviet delegation was headed by Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Here is a report from Vladimir Taranov, our correspondent in Czechoslovakia.

[Begin Taranov recording] The conference in Prague summed up the results of the work this year of the secretaries for economic matters of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties. It was the third conference this year. In a departure from previously accepted tradition, a pluralism of views and a frank comradely discussion dominated the conference.

The participants in the meeting stressed the fact that the current stage of cooperation among the socialist countries represented a turning-point. The main point on the agenda was to coordinate party policy on the key problems of the development of socialist economic integration. It was noted that integration among the CEMA member-countries was at a turning-point, with the old forms and methods having become obsolete, and new ones not yet in place. It was stressed that integration should be geared to promoting the progressive changes that are now taking place in the economies of individual socialist countries.

The conference in Prague outlined new approaches to the further improvment of the economic mechanism of cooperation. It was deemed necessary to restructure the totality of mutual economic links and to seek to bring about a joint market of the socialist countries. The parties to the conference spoke out for rejecting a closed system of socialist integration and for the development of the most diverse links with all the countries of the world. A common interest was demonstrated in the development of cooperation in the context of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on a mutually-advantageous and fully voluntary and equal basis. [end recording]

'Roundtable' Views Arms Talks, Asia-Pacific Region

LD1211192289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 12 Nov 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with presenter Nikolay Agayants and All-Union Radio Commentators Boris Andrianov and Gennadiy Vedenyapin]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, esteemed comrades. Nikolay Agayants at the microphone. My colleagues, Boris Andrianov and Gennadiy Vedenyapin, All-Union Radio commentators, are participating in our "International Observers Roundtable" program today. The past week, draped in the red calico of flags, slogans and banners, if we take into account its main, pivotal event, was the week of Great October. Our revolution, whose 72d anniversary has been celebrated by Soviet people together with all the world's progressive forces, threw down a challenge to the world of oppression and violence and for the first time opened up before humanity the prospect of socialist development.

Its lofty ideals have inspired and still inspire the peoples of our country to everything which is best, bright, and heroic—everything that has gone down in history as the continuation of Lenin's cause. On the path illumined by October the first socialist state in the world has achieved major accomplishments and has turned into a mighty power. Soviet people are justified in being proud of this. Socialism and its values have become an inalienable and influential component of human history. This is a fact, and facts are obstinate things. You cannot ignore them.

[Andrianov] But, at the same time, Nikolay Ivanovich, to be fair, we must say that the past 72 years were in no way some sort of triumphal march. The country of soviets lives more than half these years in extraordinary—I would say, extreme—conditions caused by devastating wars. The years saw the elimination of the wars' consequences; an exhausting arms race was imposed on us. Besides this, the deformation of Lenin's ideas during the years of the cult of personality and the diktat of the command administrative system could not but cause, and did cause, serious harm to our economy and our political life. This brought about social tension in society.

[Vedenyapin] Quite so, and perestroyka was needed to overcome all this, restoring the genuine ideals of socialism. The Soviet people, as the past celebrations have shown, conceives of true renewal—which we have undertaken—only along the lines of socialism, knowing that success will only be achieved through intense work and through decisive changes in all areas of our life.

Therefore, above the columns of demonstrators and on the facades of the buildings decorated for October there were none of the officially encouraging slogans requisite in the still recent past, slogans to fulfil and over-fulfil everything imaginable, even what was most impossible to fulfil. Instead of these slogans the banners were inscribed with words understandable and close to people" Land to the peasants! Power to the Soviets! Peace to peoples! This slogan of the revolution of 1917 is alive and topical today. It is precisely here that the sense of the socialist renewal of the country is to be found.

[Agayants] Yes, we are reinterpreting, reviewing, and reassessing much. For the fifth time we have celebrated the October anniversary under the conditions of perestroyka. The profound processes and changes reviving our society are continuing and are getting stronger. We have rejected much. We have renounced what was imposed on us for long years and we have renounced what does not accord with the ideas of socialism. October and Lenin remain with us, however. They remain and live in perestroyka and in our affairs. Today's characteristic features are the growth of the public political activity of the Soviet people, the practical transformation of economic and political structures and the assimilation of new forms and methods of economic operation.

[Andrianov] Incidentally, in my view, it should be particularly emphasized that the bases and principles of the foreign policy of our state, legislatively consolidated by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and suffused with the ideas of the new thinking, have met with enormous international response. I will remind you that, proceeding from the priority of common human interests, the Soviet Union and the other socialist member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty are directing their efforts toward lessening the military threat in the world.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, Boris Vasilyevich. The unilateral reduction of its armed forces begun by the country of Soviets, and the switching of a part of military production to civilian needs—that is, the very same conversion about which so much is being said on the platforms of international forums—all these moves have met with the approval and support of the Soviet people, world public opinion, and politicians of various countries. That, in its turn, creates favorable opportunities for curbing the breath-taking arms race, for cutting military expenditure, and resolving regional conflicts in the planet's so-called hotspots.

[Agayants] Correct, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich. This is what I would add to what you have said: You know, however our country's image has developed in the eyes of world public opinion in recent years and in whatever ominous gloomy shades certain Sovietologists and Kremlinologists have attempted to paint it, sensible people in the west have never, at any time, questioned the vital strengths, enormous potential, dynamism and magnetism of our system and its far-sightedness. Although not everyone is convinced of the irreversibility of perestroyka—and it has its declared opponents as well—the renewal process taking place in the USSR is accompanied, nevertheless, with sympathy and is sincerely wished success, for it is today quite clear that perestroyka is serving the long-term interests of all mankind.

[Andrianov] But this goes without saying. You see, all the projects, constructive and clear projects which release the world from international tension, from conflicts and wars, are connected in one way or another with the Soviet Union. To it, for instance, belongs the initiative of putting forward two global programs: For universal and total nuclear disarmament by the year 2000, and for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security.

[Vedenyapin] I will add that the project to create regional peace zones, the Vladivostok program—if you recall—the Murmansk one, and others put forward by us, have met with wide support. To a large extent, thanks to our country's good will and that of the other socialist states, the prospects are improving for a peaceful political settlement of regional conflicts, the solution of such major and important issues as halving the arsenals of strategic, offensive weapons, ceasing—or at least sharply reducing nuclear tests, eliminating chemical weapons, and cutting conventional weapons.

[Agayants] The far-reaching proposals of the USSR on radical disarmament, on preventing the arms race from spreading to near-earth and outer space, on stopping production of fissionable substances for military purposes, on forming peaceful military doctrines, and eliminating the military and technical potential for aggression itself—here is the practical realization of the ideals of socialism proclaimed by the Great October Socialist Revolution, of a world without weapons and a world without wars.

Great October has provided humanity with a breakthrough into a new, bright world of liberated labor and social justice. Now it is helping to carry out one more breakthrough—into a safe, nuclear-free world. These are not propaganda inventions, not high-sounding words, but objective reality, which, incidentally, is also being noted by many of those abroad who, with all the will in the world, you would not suspect of sympathizing either with our country, or with socialism in general.

[Andrianov] Here, Nikolay Ivanovich, Zbigniew Brzezinski also, in his interview with a correspondent of PRAVDA, said the following: As a political activist I would like perestroyka to be crowned with success and consider, he said, that the time has come when it is necessary to think about ways of helping perestroyka. Such acknowledgements are worth a lot.

[Vedenyapin] That is very true, Boris Vasilyevich, the more so now when the world is waiting for the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in the Mediterranean. Even though it is conceived as interim and unofficial and will take the form of an absolutely free dialogue between the leaders of the USSR and United States, it is important that the dialogue initiated 4 years ago in Geneva and having passed through Reykjavik, Washington, Moscow, and New York will be continued. Second, it is quite obvious that the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. President want to become better acquainted and deepen their understanding of each other's views, which is extremely important.

Is this not evidence that in our complex, fragile, interconnected world, the winds of change, the desire for major progress in international affairs, for trust, and for reason to win through are being felt ever more strongly today? Let us hope that the new political thinking will bear its desired fruits by strengthening peace and security.

[Agayants] Well, since the problem of peace and security has been raised, which now as never before is pressing for all mankind, it is of course impossible not to mention yet one more event of the past week. The fourth round of talks on Conventional Forces in Europe and confidence and security building measures on the continent has opened in the Austrian capital. It is hardly necessary to say that the forum which is now taking place in Vienna is intended to help reinforce stability in Europe to an enormous degree. The first set of talks are working out, as you know, an accord on reductions in conventional forces and weapons, combat equipment, first and foremost those types which are the most dangerous and which particularly complicate the situation. As far as the second set of talks is concerned, they are discussing confidence and security building measures, that is those very measures which should guarantee genuine glasnost, predictability, and openness in military activity. The talks' participants are working on the development of a complete package of new measures which would help reduce the danger of military confrontation on the continent.

[Andrianov] I think that before predicting the possible course of the fourth round, it would be reasonable to recall the results of the previous round. It is namely its results which instill the very strong hopes for a successful outcome for the Viennese talks this time as well,

What did they manage to do then? The first agreed document, containing a definition of artillery, was worked out. Its main virtue is that it is of the utmost precision. It is clearly stated there that all NATO and Warsaw Pact organization artillery systems, with calibres of more than 100mm and capable of hitting surface targets in the main from concealed firing positions, are to be subject to reductions. All in all this concerns more than 40 artillery systems on each side. What is worthy of note here is that the document itself was the result of a compromise reached, thanks to the sides agreeing to exclude from the list of reductions anti-tank artillery systems, that is, namely such a reasonable compromise became a way out which suited all interested parties.

On the whole the third round was devoted mainly to questions of information and monitoring, since solving this problem is the key to ensuring the confidence of all that the future agreement, which they intend to sign next year, will be carried out with all scrupulousness. It is necessary to say that the parnters at the talks looked very hard at each other's proposals. They studied the positions of one side or the other thoroughly. Toward the end of the previous round, the Warsaw Pact countries' delegation made very specific proposals for a collection of measures on information and monitoring. Their sense lies in creating a reliable and, at the same time, simple and economical system of monitoring reductions in conventional weapons.

[Agayants] I want to draw attention to the fact that the core of contemporary European policy is not only the reduction of the huge mass of conventional weapons, but also the creation of a system of political relations which in itself could serve as a kind of guarantee of security. Precisely because of this, new components are being introduced into the process of talks. It is a matter of the need to arrange a broad exchange of information which will give a complete picture of the strength, structure, and position of troops in the whole area from the Atlantic to the Urals. From this, logically, follows the need for profound, thorough verification which will provide for on-site inspections and so-called stabilizing measures.

[Vedenyapin] Well, this is in general a principally new direction for the talks. Despite its newness, I will note, the socialist countries' delegations introduced detailed proposals whose implementation will help eliminate the danger of a sudden attack and increase the openness and predictability of all military affairs on the European continent.

[Andrianov] By the way, a first accord was also reached at the talks on confidence and security-building measures. It was decided to hold a seminar at a high military and political level, the participants in which will discuss and compare the military doctrines of both alliances. Moreover, this will by no means be some kind of verbal squabble. The conversation is more likely to be of an applied character, that is the military-political and military-technical aspects of the doctrines will be discussed, in other words, the structure, numbers, and distribution of both alliances' armed forces. At the basis of the coming discussions lies the principle of constructing military doctrines on the basis of reasonable sufficiency.

[Agayants] Well, since we are talking about military doctrines, I want to recall our basic positions. We consider that it is necessary to reduce in stages the Soviet Union's and the United States' strategic offensive weapons, and also those of other states. It is impermissible to allow the arms race to spread into space. It is necessary to completely ban nuclear tests, and in the final instance, to eliminate nuclear weapons completely. Reductions in Europe of armed forces and conventional weapons, strict monitoring of all disarmament measures, the banning and elimination of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction are also part of our views on preventing war. This includes the creation of zones free of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction and the mutual renunciation by the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO block of recourse to armed forces.

[Vedenyapin] Nikolay Ivanovich, you have just recalled that at the coming seminar the military-technical area of the doctrine will be discussed. What is that actually?

[Agayants] You see what the point is, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich. Important questions of theory and practice in waging war and the origanization of armed forces are to be examined there. It is possible to single out four main components: The character of a military threat and the characteristics of the probable enemy. For what sort of war, and to repel what sort of aggression should armed forces be trained?

It will immediately make the proviso that we did not make the choice here, since we have taken upon ourselves the solemn obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, while the United States so far refused to make such a promise. Further, the question is this: What armed forces are necessary, within the framework of reasonable defensive adequacy? Finally, with what kind of military actions is it necessary to prepare to fight aggression? Here I would like to stress that as long ago as the year before last, the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, taking into account the disquiet of the Western European public, renounced large scale offensive operations in repulsing aggression. The general and flag officers, the Army and the Navy are now learning to carry out defensive operations with the aim of repulsing aggression. It is precisely in this way that military training is being carried out. I do not even have to mention that the latest reductions in our armed forces and our allies' armies to an ever greater degree give them a final, defensive character. Our military doctrine has precisely such a character, this is not just a declaration but leadership in action.

[Andrianov] Let us return to the Vienna Hofburg Palace, where the fourth round of [arms] talks has begun. Will it be possible, this time, to noticeably advance along the path of achieving the forthcoming accord? Let us note immediately that there are many more optimists on this account than there are skeptics. As a matter of fact, political observers, with only very rare exceptions, give a positive answer to this question. At the same time the weighty factor that the present round will take place in the period of the coming visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Italy and his meeting with President Bush near to the shores of Malta is also to be taken into account. The benefit of such contacts for the disarmament process is indisputable. This time, and let us hope it is not without foundation, it is supposed that this meeting may give a new impulse to the Vienna talks. The fact that recently the Warsaw Pact states put forward a series of highly important proposals on aircraft, monitoring, information exchange, and stabilizing measures is also conducive to positive appraisals of the prospects for the Vienna talks. Their goal consists of, in the final instance, helping achieve accords in key areas through compromise. Naturally the process and results of the present round will depend on the NATO countries' response to these proposals; and perhaps from this point of view the fourth round of Vienna talks may be decisive.

[Agayants] Yes, most likely. It is necessary to prepare definitions for at least three categories of weapons before the end of the year: Tanks, armored combat vehicles, and helicopters. Well, if they were to succeed in working out definitions for aircraft, then this would certainly please all those who are genuinely interested in the success of the Vienna forums.

[Vedenyapin] Our delegation believes the forthcoming process of negotiations could continue at two levels simultaneously, so to speak. At the first it would be possible to work in earnest on the most complicated, as yet unresolved problems such as aviation, the size of armed force complements, regional divisions, and weapons stockpiles. Meanwhile, in parallel it would be possible to work on the wording, on an agreement defining the categories of weapons. I should think the importance of this is obvious to all. We also believe it is time we started trying to reach agreement on documents on exchanging information and on monitoring, since it is this that is fundamental to a greater agreement. As we see it, we should set about agreeing on the actual text of a future agreement at the present round.

[Andrianov] Many observers link the drafting and conclusion of such an agreement to the limitation and reduction of seaborne weapons. Here it is generally accepted that NATO holds a great superiority over the Warsaw Pact. At the same time, the West currently point blank refuses to hold talks on weapons at sea.

[Agayants] This past week there was an official visit to the United States by the Philippines President Corazon Aquino. In Washington she met President George Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, the leaders of the U.S. Congress, and influential representatives of political and business circles. The head of the Philippines state, as the U.S. UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL agency in particular noted, did not conceal the fact that she believes the matter of how to attract fresh investment in the economy of her country to have been one of the main topics she discussed during her meeting.

[Andrianov] The way I see it, it is quite explicable why prime attention was devoted to this issue. For according to evidence from the foreign press, more than half of the Philippines' 58 million people live in downright poverty. The country's foreign debt has climbed to the highest it has been in the country's entire history: $28,000 million. One can gauge just how great this burden is from the fact that the annual repayments on these debts to U.S. and other Western creditors absorb one-third of all the Philippines' hard currency income from exports. It is understandable why, while in Washington, Corazon Aquino sought greater U.S. aid and concessions in the sphere of trade, so as to secure the economic development of her country.

[Vedenyapin] Undoubtedly, of course, official Washington's attitude toward this problem will be of interest. President Bush voiced this attitude fairly definitely in his speech at a dinner held in honor of Corazon Aquino's visit. He promised the United States will continue to render the Philippines economic aid, also, as the head of the White House was at pains to stress, in the sphere of ensuring security. We, said George Bush, believe a new long-term military agreement will promote both countries' security. At the same time, the U.S. President hinted quite transparently that such an agreement would guarantee the support of both parties in Congress for economic aid to Manila; a hint which, in my opinion, is akin to covert pressure.

[Agayants] You know, Gennadiy Alesandrovich, as ASSOCIATED PRESS has observed, Corazon Aquino allowed George Bush's statement to go unanswered, and her silence was seen as evidence of the fact that she cannot fail to take account of the mood of broad circles of the Philippines public, who want the complete evacuation of U.S. military bases from the territory of the country.

[Andrianov] Just last Saturday [4 November] there were short nationwide strikes and protest demonstrations against the continued military presence of the United States on the Philippines archipelago. These protests were organized by the largest trade union association in the Philippines, May First Movement, and were intended to show the opposition of the country's population to any fresh agreement with the United States that provides for U.S. military bases to be retained on Filipino soil. I would say it is symbolic these protests were held at just the time that Corazon Aquino was in Washington, where, as we have already said, they tried to pressurize her by degrees.

[Vedenyapin] It was not in vain that THE WASHINGTON POST recalled in one of its articles that it was the Aquino government that officially raised the question of the future of the Pentagon's facilities in the Philippines, where almost 40,000 U.S. servicemen are billeted. You will, of course, know that the validity of the bases agreement expires in September 1991, and on the banks of the Potomac there is no concealing the serious fears for the outcome of the U.S.-Philippine talks on prolonging the agreement that are scheduled for next month. Aside from everything else, Washington is clearly worried that the slightst concession to the Corazon Aquino government on this issue could generate a sort of chain reaction, and lead to the inevitable redeployment basing of the Pentagon's strongholds in the Asia-Pacific Region. Incidentally, I would say these fears are not without foundation. That is also the opinion of several organs of the foreign press. For instance, of the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW which writes that the Americans ought not to pin their hopes on an indefinite military presence on the Philippines after the agreement between the two countries on the Subic Bay and Clark Field bases expires. Incidentally, another magazine, this time FOREIGN AFFAIRS, remarks apropos of this that it is specifically those bases that are in the sphere of the so-called vital interests of the United States, interests that extend from its Western seaboard to Southwest Asia.

[Agayants] It would appear then that, judging by everything, in ensuring these interests, Washington intends to continue to rely on force. Generally speaking, this is graphically illustrated in the Asia-Pacific region. This reliance on force is expressed there in the build-up of the size of the U.S. military presence. It rests on the military bases and the Pentagon's other facilities. The network, I shall remind you, extends around the entire perimeter of the continent of Asia. There are almost 350 such strongpoints in the region. To this one should probably add that the second largest grouping of U.S. general purpose forces, making up the unified command in the Pacific Ocean zone—second only to the West European grouping—is stationed in Asia and the waters of the Pacific Ocean. These forces, it should be pointed out, are extremely sizable.

[Andrianov] Yes, more than 500,000 men. Moreover, a considerable part of this contingent is accounted for by the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Incidentally, I should note that its forces are concentrated mainly near the Far Eastern borders of our country. This naval grouping includes up to 200 warships. Among them are 7 multipurpose aircraft carriers, 32 nuclear-powered submarines, some 30 ships have long-range cruise missile launchers on board. In addition to this naval armada, there are 1,200 combat aircraft. On top of all this, the United States has concentrated a considerable part of its strategic offensive weapons in the Pacific Ocean zone. These include, in particular, nuclear powered submarines of the Ohio class.

[Vedenyapin] By and large, then, it should be admitted that the process of militarization in the Asia and Pacific region is, alas, building up at quite a dangerous speed. At the same time as stepping up its military presence in this extensive zone, the United States is trying to ensure that the Asian states, too, build up their military muscle. It has to be acknowledged that many of the region's countries have essentially already been drawn into the arms race. How can one fail to concur with the conclusion of the magazine AFRIQUE-ASIE which has written that beneath the facade of a carefree tropical paradise, the Pacific Ocean conceals what is one of the most militarized zones of the world? There, for all to see, is a staggering U.S. military presence.

[Agayants] All of this seems rather strange, to put it mildly, at a time when the process of disarmament talks is under way. Incidentally, I should recall that the United States—as indeed do the other countries of the North Atlantic Bloc—regard their naval forces as a sort of sacred cow. Washington stubbornly resists any proposals to start talks on limiting states' naval activity. Is this really justified when, in Europe, for instance, a process that is leading to a strengthening of mutual trust is being developed, and when the genuine prerequisites for a reduction in land forces are being created? Can a stable peace really be secured if the arms race continues on the waters? I submit that there can be but one answer to that question.

[Andrianov] Our country believes that the risk of military confrontation at sea is just as great as on land. And it is for this very reason that the Soviet Union is insistently calling for talks on naval forces to be started. This is a major, truly global problem, the solution to which is dictated and stubbornly demanded by our far from simple times.

[Vedenyapin] I believe it is quite simply imperative that it be solved. It is on the basis of this that the Soviet Union has put forward its initiatives. They are widely known, and were set out by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, Murmansk, and Belgrade. These proposals are an integral part of the package program to ensure pan-Asian security. The way to this is clear: Reduce the level of military confrontation, extend confidence-building measures to the region, and develop broad international cooperation among the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Only these routes are able to ensure genuine peace, stability, and mutually beneficial cooperation among the states of Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

[Agayants] We are coming to the end of our meeting at the Roundtable. It's participants, Boris Andrianov and Gennadiy Vedenyapin, as well as program presenter, Nikolay Agayants, thank you for your attention, esteemed comrade listeners. Goodbye and all the very best.

'New Thinking' on Krasnoyarsk Welcomed

PM0911160189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 6

[Stanislav Kondrashov "Political Observer's Opinion": "Hundreds of Millions: Have They Been Wasted?"]

[Text] At the Supreme Soviet last week describing our foreign policy, which is imbued with the new thinking, E.A. Shevardnadze also cited, for comparison's sake as it were, a few examples of the old, pre-perestroyka foreign policy and old thinking.

Afghanistan is one of them, the most strident which, though no longer spilling the blood of our soldiers, is still fresh in our memory and confronts us with the acute need to realize and master all its lessons. By no means the whole truth has been told and analyzed as yet. But people are waiting for it, especially from the Supreme Soviet and its Committee for International Affairs, which has received instructions to this effect.

The second example is on a smaller scale, but it is also strident. It is the affair with the Krasnoyarsk radar station, built in violation (the minister officially admitted this for the first time) of the 1972 Soviet-American ABM Treaty. The "unfinished project" the size of an Egyptian pyramid will be totally dismantled and pulled down. However, it might be a good thing to preserve it in our memory and history as a latter-day monument, dating partially also from the perestroyka period, of the materially and politically damaging diktat of our own military-industrial complex and of the shortsightedness—putting it mildly—of the political leadership. This is a case where acccommodating our own military complex made it easier for the other, the U.S. military-industrial complex to step up the arms race. Apart from everything else, it is yet another example of mismanagement and wastefulness. You may say that it is not the biggest such example, involving "only" hundreds of millions of rubles. Not the tens of billions of rubles which, in E.A. Shevardnadze's estimate, were spent on the creation of the infrastructure of military confrontation on the Soviet-Chinese border which, given a more sensible policy, could have been avoided. However, on the other hand, even hundreds of millions of rubles don't grow on trees. They should not be wasted where tens of millions of people live below the poverty line. But the fact is that they have been wasted.... And that is why people live as they do....

The official admission that the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar station was a violation of the ABM Treaty evoked lively comment in the West and among officials and journalists. It was rated as unprecedented, as yet another dramatic step along the road of perestroyka which opened up much that is unprecented for people both in our country and abroad. At the same time Western reactions, naturally, note that the firm stand maintained on this issue by President Reagan, who has now moved out of the White House, and by his administration (as well as the current administration) has been vindicated, since it is now shared by Moscow, too. There is also malicious glee on the part of conservative elements which continue to voice mistrust. Here is the viewpoint of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL: "Unquestionably, something interesting is happening in the Politburo's corridors of power. Seeking new agreements, new loans, and access to the civilized world, the Soviet Government has admitted the existence of the problem of confidence. This is why, after 70 years, it is admitting patent facts in the hope that it will be trusted on everything else. This is not enough." The newspaper then goes on to demand that the Soviet Union admit that the outbreak of anthrax in Sverdlovsk in 1979 was caused not by contaminated meat but by an incident in the production of biological weapons in violation of the 1972 Convention banning biological weapons. Incidentally, U.S. scientists, having met Soviet colleagues last year, agreed with the Soviet version of what actually happened. This however fails to convince THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. Its logic is based on the biblical saying: Having lied once, you cannot expect people to believe you....

So, in the West, our minister's frankness has been appreciated and commented on in different ways. Yet in our country there has been silence on this sensation of the first order. I am writing this both as criticism and self-criticism, and also as an example of the power of the inertia of the past (of the old thinking, if you like) among ourselves, among us writers on international topics. As far as we are concerned the ancient taboos have not lost their force and the concept of sensitive topics persists, even if these taboos are being removed "from above" and the sensitive topics are touched on in public, at the Supreme Soviet. However, in my opinion they are still only being **touched on**, sketched in broad terms. They are still not being fully revealed, and no effort is being made to dig deep, down to the spot where the fountain of truth gushes from the earth.

Let us turn to the minister's words: "We studied the issue of this station for 4 years.... The leadership of the country did not learn the whole truth immediately. In the end we became convinced that this station was built where it should not have been."

It is true that this affair dragged on for a long time. The current admission was reached in stages, as it were. From 1984-85 onward I myself was present more than once during specialists' disputes, when Americans were claiming that the Krasnoyarsk radar station was a violation of the treaty since it could be used as a missile attack early warning facility, which would make it part of a missile defense system of the country's territory banned under the treaty; while our specialists, rejecting the U.S. interpretation, claimed that the station's sole purpose was to track artificial earth satellites and other space objects. Our specialists among themselves, and in discussions with people on "our side," sometimes doubted the cogency of this argument, but they acted in accordance with one of the unshakable bastions of the old thinking and misconceived patriotism: In the interests of one's country it is possible to deny the truth... even if it can be seen plainly (after all, this truth, as I said earlier, is the size of an Egyptian pyramid) by U.S. spy satellites. It was thought possible and necessary to deny this truth even if this denial played into the hands of the U.S., champions of the arms race and "star wars."

Allow me to recall that the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar station always served as President Reagan's trump card when, with reference to Soviet violations of the ABM Treaty, he put forward and substantiated his astronomically expensive "strategic defense initiative" projects. This is a perfect example of the fact that, in a cramped, suspicious, totally transparent and moreover mutually interdependent world, the truth is not just sensible but also profitable and any attempts—deliberate or otherwise—to swindle the other side are fraught with introducing tension in political relations and with new ruinous military expenditure.

Stage by stage Moscow has moved toward recognizing that the U.S. concerns were justified: In early September 1987 three U.S. Congressmen were for the first time admitted to the "unfinished project" near Krasnoyarsk, then construction was officially put on ice, and this was followed by the proposal that the radar station should be placed under the aegis of the USSR Academy of Sciences (removing it from under the aegis of the Ministry of Defense) with a view to turning it into an international center for space research.... At the recent Soviet-American meeting in Wyoming in September we announced our decision to dismantle the object of dispute and, together with the rephrasing of our stance on the ABM treaty, this seems to have improved the prospects for achieving an agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms. Finally, there was E.A. Shevardnadze's statement to the Supreme Soviet.

Let us, once again, return to the question of whether the hundreds of millions of rubles spent on the gigantic radar station were wasted—a station which, incidentally, will be more difficult and expensive to dismantle than the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, of which we also had considerably more than the Americans, were to destroy. I will answer this question as follows: They will have been wasted if we do not take the trouble to get to the bottom of this sad story. What the minister said was not enough, but in a wide-ranging speech it was hardly reasonable to expect more. I do not know whether it would be expedient to set up a new commission. However, it is essential that details are published regarding both the cost of and the responsibility for this project and regarding the way something like this could happen at all. Incidentally, informed people say that the ill-fated construction began in 1979, at the beginning of that year rather than the end, which was when Soviet forces were sent to Afghanistan. What is more, they also claim that the foreign minister has already received a deputies' written question asking for details.

United States & Canada

Cheney's Remarks on Soviet Forces Analyzed

LD1311201289 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney told the NBC television network that "the Soviets have continued to modernise their strategic forces" and have a thousand warheads trained on the United States. "They still occupy Eastern Europe", the Pentagon chief complains.

I would think that to any American or European such statements come as rather untimely, to say the least. In fact, both people in both East and West are watching optimistically the Vienna talks on conventional arms in Europe, hoping that in the near future the Warsaw Treaty and NATO may agree on a steep reduction in military confrontation.

Besides, as Mr. Cheney ought to be reminded, the American troops still stationed in Western Europe will also be subject to reductions.

Besides, the Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis has just told the newspaper REPUBBLICA that at issue is both troop reductions and their re-deployment. As to the term "occupation", it has been borrowed by the Pentagon chief from the "Cold War" lexicon.

Now about the strategic forces. Cheney's statement about the targets for the Soviet warheads could hardly be placed within the category of informative.

The secretary would have us believe that the U.S. strategic missiles are targeted not on the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries but someplace else, say on Mars.

In the meantime, as the newspaper LOS ANGELES TIMES reported recently, the Pentagon is completing a new plan for the use of the strategic offensive forces.

The plan provides for bringing together the latest strategic elaborations on waging a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. So at issue is the use, in the event of a war, of the whole triad of the strategic offensive weapons as well as of the large-scale ABM system, a new system of weapons.

The basis for the plan is provided by the idea of delaying blows not only to the Soviet Armed Forces and defence industry, but also to those political structures that the Soviet leadership values the most". [quotation marks as received]

If one is to speak about a "thousand warheads", then the United States has much more of them than the Soviet Union. It will be recalled that the Soviet strategic arsenals contain about 10,000 of them while the American arsenals contain from 14 to 16 thousand. And on the whole the U.S. nuclear stockpiles contain up to 25 thousand different-purpose nuclear charges.

Well, finally, on "modernisation". The Pentagon chief's statement clearly struck a discordant note amid U.S. press reports that in the opinion of the Bush administration, the Soviet Union has slowed down the modernisation of its nuclear arms.

Can one say the same thing about the modernisation of the U.S. strategic nuclear forces? No, one cannot: For the Pentagon does not wish to slow down or renounce any of the strategic programmes approved even during the Reagan Administration's first term of office.

The present White House incumbent, speaking recently in Dallas, spoke abut a reduced threat of a nuclear war and expressed his confidence in a further improvement of Soviet-American relations. In the light of this one would be quite in order to ask the Pentagon chief: How come he holds a different view?

Importance of Mediterranean Meeting

LD0911200989 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 9 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney said that the U.S.-USSR summit in the Mediterranean to be held on December 2 and December 3 will be very important.

In an interview to the CBS network today he said President Bush had already declared he wanted to have a good debate with Mr. Gorbachev.

This will not be an official summit in a sense of expectations to conclude or sign some agreements, Cheney said. But he noted that in view of the developments he believed, just as the U.S. President, that it was very important to get an opportunity for negotiations and for the discussion of developments with Mr. Gorbachev.

Cheney said the U.S. was interested in the continuation of the reforms now made in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, as well as in East Germany.

Answering questions connected with the possibility of the reduction of the U.S. military presence in Europe, Cheney emphasised that it should be implemented through consultations with the U.S. allies in NATO.

He said the U.S. was pressing for parity in the numerical strength of forces in Europe, for the reduction of Soviet troops to the level at which approximate parity will be established with the numerical strength of the troops the U.S. has in the West.

The U.S. defence secretary noted that this question will surely be discussed during President Bush's forthcoming meeting with Gorbachev.

Bush Cited on Improving USSR Relations

LD1111211389 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 11 TASS—A broad range of issues, regional and global, will come under discussion during the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting in the Mediterranean. This was stated on Saturday by U.S. President George Bush at a luncheon in Dallas in honour of William Clementy, the governor of Texas.

The President stressed that during his meeting with the Soviet leader he would state unequivocally that the United States wished success to the reform process in the Soviet Union.

Bush said that the present generation, as well as their children and grandchildren, were interested in the success of the reform drive.

The U.S. President added that during the December meeting in the Mediterranean he would raise the question of improving relations between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and its allies on the other.

On Forthcoming Summit

PM1311140189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS/REUTER report: "George Bush on the Summit Meeting"]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush held a consultation on Thursday with Secretary of State James Baker and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. During the White House session there was a discussion, in particular, of the unofficial meeting of the U.S. and USSR leaders to be held aboard Soviet and U.S. warships in the waters off Malta on 2-3 December.

After the conference George Bush stated at an impromptu press conference in the Oval Office that the current changes in Europe are a question which will be discussed without fail during the upcoming meeting. According to the President, both sides will certainly expound in detail their positions on the question of the future of the European continent.

Arbatov on Forthcoming Gorbachev-Bush Talks

LD1311155189 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—"Although the Soviet and American leaders, who are to have an unofficial Mediterranean meeting, did not aim at attaining agreement on specific matters, one cannot rule out that the forthcoming Gorbachev-Bush conversations might lead to headway on a number of major conceptual problems," Aleksey Arbatov, a leading Soviet disarmament and international affairs specialist, told TASS.

He mentioned the qualitative limitation of the strategic offensive arms race as one such problem.

"The draft agreement on a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive armaments has meant so far only the setting of quantitative ceilings on some types of strategic offensive armaments, but it is no less important to find mutual understanding also on their qualitative characteristics. Without that a quantitative restriction could not lead to greater security—it would be more than 'compensated' by the might, precision and other destructive parameters of new generations of strategic offensive armaments," Arbatov said.

Arbatov touched upon other aspects of the disarmament problem, specifically "the open skies" idea, and stressed that the concept was important and useful. "One should like to hope that the Americans will take a more constructive stand also toward the 'open seas' idea," he said.

Concrete measures to ensure "open space" would also be of great significance, the Soviet expert added.

Inspection of both sides' space centres, he believes, could be one of these measures to verify that systems banned by the ABM treaty are not deployed in space.

Commenting on foreign press comparisons of the Mediterranean meeting with that held in Rejkjavik, Arbatov said: "The Rejkjavik meeting put forth many constructive ideas that helped the USSR and the U.S. accomplish major breakthroughs. But my opinion is that one should not abuse analogies in politics.

"Whatever the outcome of the meeting, the press should not heighten the atmosphere beforehand—this might trigger off expectations of outstanding results. The very fact of an open dialogue between the leaders of the world's two greatest powers is important.

"And it would be good to put such unofficial meetings on a regular basis."

Radio on Gorbachev-Bush Mediterranean Meeting

LD0911204289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 9 Nov 89

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] Judging by telegrams coming in from abroad, the report that the leaders of the USSR and the United States are planning to hold a meeting at the beginning of December has prompted numerous commentaries there. Their authors are expressing views about the reasons that have impelled Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush to agree on a meeting precisely at this time. I suppose there are serious grounds for this. After all, this year is described as one of the most stormy in the whole postwar period. In a number of regions in the world, events have been developing very fast, and frequently they assume an unexpected form. This makes one adopt responsible and difficult decisions and at the same time demand that leaders of the leading countries take into account one another's interests. This is why the contact at a political level that has been maintained by the USSR and the United States has become so important.

The leaders of the two countries have been exchanging messages. However, nothing can replace a personal conversation and thorough discussion of the whole range of problems that have arisen in an atmosphere of informal and frank communication.

In the meantime, conditions are now taking shape for the official summit meeting in Washington to be marked by major accords capable of influencing the progress of world affairs for decades to come. In particular, there are grounds to hope that next year agreements can be signed at once on three key problems in disarmament: 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms, reduction of conventional armed forces, and a ban on chemical weapons. Last, but not least, the attainment of these goals can be promoted by a general atmosphere of stability and a normal evolution which must not be burdened by old approaches from a position of confrontation.

A considered and responsible policy by all countries will be required, especially by the USSR and the United States, as well as specific impulses for disentangling the knots that still remain in negotiations. Therefore, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush have many subjects to discuss, both general and more specific. I suppose that that this is what has motivated them to make a decision on the intermediate meeting.

Secretary Baker Cited on GDR Situation

PM1411101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report from column of TASS, REUTER, UPI, and AFP reports: "U.S. Secretary of State on Situation in the GDR"]

[Text] In an interview with the CBS television network, U.S. Secretary of State Baker touched upon the situation in the GDR. He said he doubted that NATO would adopt urgent specific steps in connection with the problem of German reunification. "What we have in mind is a reunification on the basis of Western values and within the framework of a peaceful and free process. It may be somewhat premature to leapfrog from the freedom of movement in Eastern Europe to the question of reunification. Many stages have yet to be covered, and free elections are one of these stages," he said.

V.P. Orlov Confers With U.S. Attorney General

PM1011114189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting In Washington"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Nov—On Wednesday there was a meeting in Washington between U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh and the members of a delegation of the Central Electoral Commission on the Election of USSR People's Deputies, headed by its chairman, V.P. Orlov. The Soviet representatives are visiting the United States at the invitation of the Federal Election Commission.

During the conversation the attorney general talked about the main areas of activity of the executive organs providing the legal backup for the election process in the United States and monitoring observance of the laws regulating financial and other aspects of the election campaign in the country. The Soviet representatives told the U.S. attorney general about the preparations for the upcoming elections to local organs of power in the USSR.

On the same day the Soviet delegation left Washington for New York, where it plans to have working meetings with representatives of the New York municipal authorities in charge of organizing and holding local authority elections.

Orlov on U.S. Election Procedure

PM1311103789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent A. Blinov: "'We Familiarized Ourselves With Technology of Elections...'"]

[Text] Washington—There was great interest in the elections of state governors and city mayors which took place last Tuesday in a number of areas of the United States. During the voting, polling stations and the results center in the city of Richmond—administrative center of the state of Virginia—were visited by a delegation from the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies, headed by its chairman, V.P. Orlov. Speaking with your correspondent on the telephone from Richmond, he said:

"We were able to see the voting unfold and the tense struggle of the two leading parties—Democratic and Republican—to get the voters to come and vote. (In the United States this activity is permitted even on election day). It is difficult to judge how active the electorate is, even when you are present when the voting is taking place. Not all Americans with the right to vote are registered as voters and not all registered voters turn up to vote. As a rule, absenteeism—nonvoting—has been considerable.

"But the purpose of our visit to the United States during the election period was not to observe the results, but to familiarize ourselves with the 'technology' of election campaign organization, of voting and counting. In Richmond itself we were interested in the use of computers in the electoral precincts. The computers make it possible to keep a constant watch on the course of the election and to calculate the results rapidly. But in Virginia it was such level pegging between the two candidates that even the extensive use of computers did not produce a final election result at the end of the day.

"Local trips—to Richmond and then to New York—were preceded by detailed conversations in Washington with members of the Federal Election Commission and committees of both houses of Congress dealing with election matters. There was an exchange of experience. Last summer a U.S. delegation visited the USSR to acquaint itself with the Soviet electoral system. What we are doing now is familiarizing ourselves with the way election campaigns and elections are handled in the United States—a country with a long democratic tradition."

"What strikes you most about the U.S. election system?"

"It was very interesting for me to see the preliminary selection and sifting of candidates by the leading U.S. parties—the primaries. They make it possible to identify the most popular politicians, in order to be able to put all the party's resources—political and financial—into ensuring their success at the elections.

"The U.S. system for financing election campaigns, which makes it possible to enlist substantial funds for expensive pre-election events, is also interesting. We in the USSR are studying the possibility of establishing election funds to which labor collectives and enterprises could contribute. Of course, candidates would have an equal opportunity to obtain money from these funds.

"Finally, we were able to see electronic and other equipment in use during the voting and counting and to assess the pros and cons of 'mechanical voting.'

"I want to say that a practical acquaintance with the way elections are held in the United States enables us to amplify and amend somewhat our previous notions. Following the example of our U.S. colleagues," V.P. Orlov said in conclusion, "we are generalizing them in our report."

Commission Ends Visit to U.S.

LD1211071489 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] New York November 12 TASS—A delegation of the Central Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies, led by its chairman V.P. Orlov, left New York for home on Saturday [11 November].

During its stay in the United States the delegation met representatives of the Administration, U.S. Congress and the press. The Soviet delegation familiarised itself with the main activities of executive bodies, which provide legal safeguards for the election campaign in the United States and enforce laws which regulate financial and other aspects of elections.

Members of the delegation briefed American participants in the meetings of preparations for the forthcoming elections to local bodies of power in the USSR.

Armenia's Arutyunyan Receives U.S. Ambassador

NC1211103289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Suryen Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, received Jack Matlock, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Soviet Union, and Mrs Matlock, who are visiting the republic.

During the meeting, Suren Arutyunyan discussed the reconstruction work following the disastrous earthquake. He also expressed his condolences on the recent earthquake in California which resulted in deaths.

Jack Matlock reported that at the initiative of the U.S. Library of Congress, 1989 has been declared the year of education and knowledge for youth to promote love and respect for books and knowledge among young people. Exhibitions have opened in the Soviet Union and in the United States, and one such exhibition has opened in Armenia.

During the discussions, Suren Arutyunyan explained the stand of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's leadership and people on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The discussions were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Commentators Question U.S. Immigration Policy

LD1111200689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 11 Nov 89

[From the "World in the Mirror of Events: a Saturday Dialogue" program, with Yevgeniy Grachev and Nikolay Agayants, foreign policy commentators for All-Union Radio]

[Text] [Agayants] Here is an interesting report from the U.S. capital: Thomas Downey, member of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress—he's a Democrat from New York state—has called upon the White House to review the policy toward the Soviet Union and remove existing obstacles to the development of trade and economic links between our states. Downey pointed out that Congress will support a decision by the President to use the authority vested in him as head of the present Administration to rescind the discriminatory Vanik-Jackson amendment.

[Grachev] But this is the amendment which was adopted in the 1970's, Nikolay Ivanovich, which tied the issue of development of bilateral trade with the Soviet Union and of granting it most favored nation status to our country's emigration policy.

[Agayants] You are absolutely right. It is that same shameful amendment. Because of it, our links with the United States are still at a shamefully low level, at a level unworthy of great powers. Furthermore, we are scrupulously fulfilling all of our undertakings and do not create any obstacles whatsoever to the departure of Soviet citizens abroad. It is Washington, as we know, that is preparing to restrict the reception of Soviet immigrants. A number of federal departments, including the State Department, the CIA, the FBI, and so on, have secretly worked out a plan for restricting the entry of individuals of Jewish nationality from the Soviet Union.

[Grachev] Here, it seems to me, there arises one question which is utterly legitimate: Are not the official authorities in the United States themselves becoming the victims of their own importunate demands for emigration from the USSR to be expanded?

[Agayants] Indeed so, Yevgeniy Tikhonovich, it would very much seem to be the case.

Diplomat on Perestroyka's Effect on U.S. Ties

LD1011133689 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—Openness is not simply a trendy slogan, but also a vital necessity. Without agreements and mutual understanding in this sphere it is hard to move forward in arms control and other issues, Aleksey Obubkov, chief of Soviet Foreign Ministry United States and Canada Department, told TASS.

Perestroyka concerns both Soviet domestic affairs and foreign policy, he said.

Perestroyka has broadened the Soviet ability to pursue constructive international policy and Soviet-U.S. cooperation.

"The policy of glasnost and de-ideologisation in international relations has prompted new openness in discussing burning issues, including during Soviet-American talks. This provides a groundwork for solving complex problems in arms control, regional conflicts and human rights," the Soviet diplomat said.

He praised the impact of nuclear disarmament, which began with the signing of the INF Treaty, on Soviet-American relations.

This treaty provided a precedent for solving diverse issues, verification in the first place, Obukhov said.

Obukhov recalled the idea of "open skies" proposed by President Bush and developed by the Soviet Union to the idea of "open" skies, land, space and sea. As for the agreed land inspections one can speak of a considerable degree of openness in this respect, the diplomat said.

Meanwhile, the problem of openness and trust is a key issue in the naval negotiations. The United States is reluctant to move forward in negotiations on the navy, Obukhov said, expressing hope that the sides would be able to overcome the deadlock, including in openness.

Primakov Speaks to Pittsburgh Conference

PM0911122589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conference in Pittsburgh Ends"]

[Text] Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), 4 Nov—Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, who is heading a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation which is in the United States at the invitation of the U.S. Congress leadership, addressed participants in the Fifth Conference of the Soviet and U.S. Public on Friday. Addressing the participants in the meeting organized by the Chautauqua institute, the leader of the Soviet parliamentary delegation dwelled on questions of the development of relations between the USSR and the United States in the coming decade.

A few days ago it was announced that at the beginning of December there will be an unofficial meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and G. Bush, president of the United States, Ye.M. Primakov noted. This report has become a most important event in the United States and is the focus of the entire world's attention. Such interest in this report is absolutely natural. Soviet-U.S. relations have long moved beyond bilateral ties—they have a decisive influence on the development of the entire international situation. That was the case during the postwar period and in all likelihood will be the case in the 1990's, too.

What are the grounds for this conclusion? First, the leader of the Soviet parliamentary delegation continued, the USSR and the United States have accumulated most of all the means of mass destruction—according to existing assessments, more than 90 percent of the world's nuclear missile arsenal.

Second, the development of the international situation, particularly after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, showed that success in reaching a political settlement in the most dangerous international regional conflicts depends on the normalization of relations between the USSR and the United States.

Third, the United States and the Soviet Union are the most influential states in the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO. It can be assumed that in the coming decade these alliances will progressively lose their military thrust as their political functions increase. But in any case, as long as the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO exist, regardless of which aspect of their action takes priority, relations between the USSR and the United States remain significant as the axis around which virtually the entire global situation "revolves."

Fourth, cooperation between the USSR and the United States cannot fail to have crucial significance in averting an ecological catastrophe. It may be thought that at the present time, when the threat of a thermonuclear war is really receding, the ecological danger for all mankind is coming to the fore. Meanwhile the struggle to preserve the environment knows no national boundaries and by no means tolerates the self-isolation of any state—first and foremost, naturally, such powers as the USSR and the United States.

It is difficult to exaggerate the potential significance of Soviet-U.S. cooperation to eliminate both "third world" poverty and backwardness, and also dangerous illnesses threatening to spread rapidly throughout the world.

Fifth, the configuration of Soviet-U.S. relations in the 1990's will to a significant degree be determined also by the scientific-technical component.

The conversion of the military industry could affect the next decade. So, Ye.M. Primakov continued, relations between the Soviet Union and the United States in the 1990's will retain its cardinal significance. At the same time it would be inexcusably mistaken to look at the entire world only through the prism of these relations. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that after 1992 a qualitatively new stage in the development of West Europe will begin—a common market is being set up which is leveling the economic barriers between the states of this region. Basically, a single West European center is being formed which has greater economic potential than the United States.

All the indications are that there will be a continuation of the uneven development of the Asia-Pacific countries, which have already revealed several leaders who in the 1980's successfully challenged the industrially developed countries. China's and India's national economic potential is growing rapidly. Japan, which has now become one of the recognized leaders of scientific and technical progress in the world, in no way intends to give up its positions in the 1990's.

At the same time, the head of the Soviet delegation continued, we can confidently forecast major sociopolitical progress in a number of countries regardless of the path of development chosen by them originally. It will inevitably occur in the next decade.

All this put together cannot fail to be taken into account in Soviet-U.S. relations. Only total realism in assessing world processes, only firm recognition of all countries' indisputable right to an independent choice of a specific model of development, can create conditions which favor not only a growth in trust, but also fruitful Soviet-U.S. cooperation. A firm base for Soviet-U.S. relations can only be created on the basis of the objective progress of historical development rather than by working against it.

Posing the question about what is holding back the development of relations between the USSR and the United States at the present time, Ye.M. Primakov stressed that this question is not a futile one since without an answer it is difficult to determine at least the pace of development of Soviet-U.S. relations in the coming decade.

Today, Ye.M. Primakov indicated, a return to a "zero-sum game" could have a most negative effect: Starting to reassess situations which are difficult for one side as certainly profitable for the other, and vice versa. It would seem that we have already broken away from such an understanding. But the danger of returning to it exists all the same, since the enemy image has still not been completely erased, and this also directly affects the perception of events and processes taking place on "the other side." Moreover, in the United States to a much greater degree than in our country, this stereotype appears not only in psychology, but also directly in politics. Suffice it to cite the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls restrictions on which the United States stubbornly insists. The Jackson-Vanik amendment, by which discriminatory factors hindering the development of our economic ties with the United States are artificially maintained, is also still in existence. Admittedly the sudden change in attitude to this amendment which has emerged in the U.S. Congress is reassuring. Our democratization, particularly the draft law which has prepared providing for the practice of leaving and entering the USSR in strict compliance with generally accepted international norms, also helps this sudden change in attitude.

In the military sphere the rapprochement between the two states may as before be inhibited by certain circles insisting on fairly high ceilings in the arms reduction sphere. These circles are worried not so much by genuine national security interests as by the prospect of losing their place in the economy and politics.

Ye.M. Primakov identified two more circumstances which, he noted, may continue to have a negative influence on the process of Soviet-U.S. arms reduction in the 1990's. This is an attempt to compensate for the arms being removed from the two states' arsenals by the adoption and development of new programs in the military sphere which qualitatively improve the two states' military potential. Another complicating factor could be the United States' adherence to its position regarding its naval forces, which are raised almost to the rank of "untouchable." How can one fail to mention the double standards here, he noted: The United States expects the USSR to give up its "superiority" in ground forces and at the same time refuses even to talk about the possibility of starting to reduce its great superiority at sea.

Assessing the prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations for the coming decade, Ye.M. Primakov expressed the hope that they will develop dynamically and will reach a qualitatively new level. They are too important for all of us, he stressed in conclusion, and the dependence of all world affairs on their progress is too great.

On Friday the fifth conference of the Soviet and U.S. public ended its work.

The visit to the United States by the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation ended with the adoption of a joint communique—the first in the history of relations between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress.

White House Spokesman on Commitment to SDI

LD0911103589 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 9 TASS—White House spokesman Roman Popadiuk said here on Wednesday that the U.S. Administration's position on SDI has not changed and it remains committed to the Star Wars programme.

The statement was made at a White House briefing in connection with a report by the WASHINGTON POST newspaper on Wednesday that the Joint Chiefs of Staff are now ready to support the conclusion of a Soviet-American treaty on strategic offensive weapons without a preliminary solution of a long-running dispute between the two superpowers on space arms tests.

The newspaper referred to a high-ranking Army man and noted that, according to him, it is highly improbable that the U.S. Government would back such testing in the context of improving Soviet-American relations and progress at the arms control talks.

Asked whether the President is ready to abandon Star Wars tests in order to conclude an agreement on strategic weapons, Popadiuk noted that "our position on SDI has not changed, it remains the same. Fully committed to SDI."

China

Soviet-PRC Diplomatic-Military Group Holds Talks

LD1411015989 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—Under an arrangement reached during the Soviet-Chinese summit, a Soviet-Chinese group of diplomats and military experts on questions of troops reductions in the areas adjoining the Soviet-Chinese border and on confidence-building in the military area began working in Moscow.

The Soviet part of the group is headed by Genrikh Kireyev, chief of the directorate of socialist Asian countries of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The Chinese part of the group is headed by Liu Guangzhi, deputy chief of the department of the USSR and East European countries of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China.

XINHUA Report Cited

OW1411085189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] According to XINHUA, a delegation of Chinese diplomatic and military experts flew from Beijing to Moscow on 13 November. The delegation was formed according to an agreement reached at a Soviet-Chinese meeting in Beijing in May. According to the XINHUA report, the delegation will discuss a Soviet proposal on reducing the military troops of the two countries along their common border as a way of enhancing mutual faith.

U.S. Congress Sanctions Against PRC Reported

LD0811162389 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko:

The U.S. Senate-House Conference Committee approved a programme of economic sanctions against China on Tuesday. They are more tough than measures taken by the White House earlier.

The newspaper WASHINGTON POST reports that the Bush Administration which initially opposed additional sanctions against China, was forced to agree with Congress' proposals after consultations with its leaders.

The package of anti-Chinese measures is included in a bill on appropriations to the State Department, which is now being debated at the Conference Committee.

The approved sanctions include a ban on arms sales, export of U.S. satellites and police equipment, an end to all forms of measures on control over export and discontinuation of guarantees for U.S. investments in China.

At the last minute legislators included a wording in the bill, under which the President has the right to repeal sanctions if he believes that this is in accord with U.S. national interests.

Along with the package of anti-Chinese sanctions, the Conference Committee approved a sharply-worded political statement concerning the events on the Tiananmen Square last June.

USSR, PRC Seismologists Discuss Cooperation

OW1411053089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] A Chinese seismological delegation recently arrived in the Soviet Union on a visit at the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The delegation is headed by Fang Zhangshun, director of the Chinese State Seismological Bureau. Our reporter (Reshev) says the following on the visit of the delegation.

What happens underneath the earth's surface shows that it is an unknown world down there. These words are contained in a memorandum signed in Moscow on the talks between the State Seismological delegation of the People's Republic of China and the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. By quoting these words, the reporter began his report on the cooperation between Soviet and Chinese seismologists.

The boundary between the Soviet Union and China is more than 7,000 km long. The fact that our two countries border on each other objectively demands more cooperation between our seismologists, because earthquakes sometimes happen in both countries at the same time. For instance, the residents of China's Harbin City could feel and were alarmed by the shock of the earthquake that happened in the Baikal Lake region of the Soviet Union in the spring of this year. Many earthquakes that happened in China also affected the Central Asia, Siberia, and Far East regions of the Soviet Union. Soviet seismologists recorded the shockwaves of those earthquakes.

The Chinese seismological delegation is visiting the Soviet Union to discuss cooperation in seismological studies and in seeking ways to reduce earthquake damage. During the visit, the Chinese seismologists have briefed their Soviet counterparts on China's research on earthquake forecasting and have familiarized themselves with the same research in the Soviet Union. They have visited the seismological research organizations under the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Academies of Sciences of Uzbek and Tadzhik, and also visited the East Asia Earth Dynamics Laboratory.

During their talks, the seismologists of the two countries discussed cooperation projects. The projects have been listed in an agreement on seismological cooperation and forecasting between the State Seismological Bureau of China and the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. The agreement was reached during the Chinese delegation's visit in the Soviet Union, and it will be formally signed when a Soviet seismological delegation pays a return visit to China in the early half of 1990.

After the seismologists of the two countries held talks in the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the reporter interviewed Fang Zhangshun, director of the Chinese State Seismological Bureau and head of the Chinese seismological delegation. The reporter first expressed his sympathy in the name of Moscow Radio to the victims of the strong earthquake in China in October this year. Then he asked about the prospects for Soviet-Chinese seismological cooperation. Fang Zhangshun said:

[Begin recording] I want to thank the Soviet people for showing great concern for the victims of the recent strong earthquake in China. Earthquakes happen frequently in both China and the Soviet Union. Both countries are quite strong in seismological research. If Chinese and Soviet seismologists closely cooperate with each other, our two countries can make greater contributions to reducing earthquake damage for mankind. Our current visit is a new starting point of Chinese-Soviet seismological cooperation, and the cooperation will be further expanded in the days to come. [end recording]

The reporter also asked Academician (Zuknov), head of the Soviet delegation to the talks, about Soviet-Chinese seismological cooperation.

Academician (Zuknov) emphasized that in his opinion, it is impossible to forecast earthquakes both at present and in the future [as heard], but it is possible to reduce earthquake damage. Seismological cooperation between the two countries is for this purpose. The cooperation will focus on studying signs of earthquakes, earthquake forecasting, engineering seismology, anti-quake building, geological dynamics, seismology, and inner-earth physics. The cooperation has just begun. Both sides share an interest in seismological research, and an exchange of research results will enhance our seismological knowledge.

Laser Surgery Medical Center Head Visits Taiwan

OW1411105789 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 7 Nov 89 P 4

[Report by Chen Chien-hung]

[Text] (Skubeykin), director of the State Laser Surgery Medical Center under the Soviet Ministry of Health, pointed out that the Soviet Government, under the leadership of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, had accelerated the pace of its reforms and wanted to establish good relations with the outside world. He added that the Soviet Government, he believes, is willing to work with the Taiwan authorities to promote academic cooperation and to establish political ties with Taiwan, and that his visit was aimed at seeking further academic exchanges with Taiwan.

(Skubeykin) and (Laybov), who is in charge of the Clinical Department of the State Laser Surgery Medical Center, in their official capacity, are the first medical delegation from the Soviet Union to visit Taiwan. Under the arrangement of Kao Ming-chien, president of International Laser Medicine Society [ILMS], (Skubeykin) extended his greetings to the people in Taiwan through the mass media.

(Skubeykin), who is acknowledged as "king of the laser" by the Soviets because of his outstanding medical achievements, said: The Soviet Union, led by its new leader Gorbachev, has in recent years actively sought to develop good relations with foreign countries and has implemented many reforms at home. These efforts have won the country positive comments from the international community.

He pointed out that Gorbachev places great emphasis on international academic exchange. He expressed the hope that his visit would facilitate further exchanges and contacts with the academic circles in Taiwan and develop cooperation programs.

(Laybov) stated that it was both a surprise and a pleasure to have the opportunity to visit Taiwan, adding that he hoped he could have more opportunities to meet the people of Taiwan.

(Laybov) highly praised ILMS President Gao Ming-chien for being a leading figure in the international medical establishment at such a young age, saying that he sees the brilliance of the Taiwan people in Professor Kao and believes that the country is full of promise.

(Skubeykin) and (Laybov) both stressed that the impression of their first visit to Taiwan was very good and added that they hoped more Taiwan medical professionals, as well as people from other trades and professions, could come to visit the Soviet Union.

Northeast Asia

Yakovlev Leads Official Visit to Japan

Visit Previewed

OW1311105689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] A delegation of the Supreme Soviet, led by Soviet Communist party Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev, will begin its official visit to Japan on 12 November. The visit draws attention because it is the first official visit by Soviet national assembly members to Japan since 1984. In this regard, Radio Moscow Commentator (Shedrov) comments as follows:

Observers view the current visit to Japan by the Supreme Soviet delegation in connection with the Japan-Soviet summit talks, slated for the spring of 1991. As you know, there are many problems between the Soviet Union and Japan. The fact that both countries have not concluded a peace treaty since the end of World War II is proof of their existence. Deeply involved dialogues between the parliamentarians of both countries, through various means, are needed to solve these problems. Needless to say, the so-called northern territory issue, which involves the four Kuril islands, is the major obstacle to an improvement of the Japan-USSR ties. The Japanese Government considers that the return of the four islands is an undisputable preliminary condition for a breakthrough of the difficulty in the Japan-USSR ties. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, insists that the reality of post-World War II must be respected.

What are the opinions of the Soviet parliamentarians? They have different views from that of the government. For example, Yuriy Afanasyev, member of the Congress of People's Deputies, who recently visited Japan, supported a return of the northern territory to Japan. Moreover, (Bitali Guli), Supreme Soviet member, advocated a concept for joint sovereignty of the four islands. Incidently, Professor Haruki Wada and several other Japanese politicians and scholars also support the concept. Academy member Andrey Sakharov, prominent activist and also a people's deputy, also calls for a realistic compromise. At the same, Mr Sakharov first said that a review of the border, set after World War II, is not a wise idea. He then stressed the need to give considerations to the interest of the Soviet people living on the southern Kuril islands.

Solving the territorial dispute in a reasonable manner is important, not only for bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Japan. As a similar example to this case, we can cite the fact that brought about a breakthrough to the considerably tense USSR-FRG ties of the 1970s. This breakthrough made a qualitative improvement in the European situation as well. Sound Soviet-Japanese relations can also be an impetus for making an important and positive improvement in the overall situation of the Far East and Pacific region. It is not an exaggeration.

It seems to me that the view (Gabril Popov), people's deputy, explained in response to a question raised in an interview with ASAHI SHIMBUN is fair. (Mr Popov), in the interview, said that a solution in which both parties can become winners is needed. Needless to say, compromises of both sides are indispensable to do so. The basis of making such compromises is being made through dialogues between the Soviet Union and Japan. The Supreme Soviet delegation's current visit to Japan also gives proof of this trend.

Visit Attracts 'Great Attention'

OW1311133489 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] According to a dispatch by Moscow Radio correspondent Potapov in Tokyo, a Supreme Soviet delegation led by Politburo member Yakovlev arrived in Tokyo on 12 November for an official visit to Japan. The delegation is visting Japan at the invitation of Japan's Diet.

During a 1-week stay in Japan, the delegation members will meet with leaders and members of the Upper and Lower Houses, Prime Minister Kaifu, Foreign Minister Nakayama, leaders of political parties, and representatives of social organizations. On 14 November, Politburo member Yakovlev is scheduled to meet with Emperor Akihito. At a series of meetings, the delegation members will exchange views with Japanese counterparts on the present situation in the world, including the Asian and Pacific region, present state and prospects for Soviet-Japan relations, further expansion of exchanges between the parliamentarians of the two countries, and a visit by a delegation of the Liberal Democratic Party to the Soviet Union in December this year.

The visit by the Supreme Soviet delegation to Japan is drawing a great attention from Japanese mass media and public opinion. Various newspapers have featured

Soviet-Japan relations for more than a week and Japanese television stations are reporting on perestroyka and democratic changes in the Soviet Union on the occasion of the delegation's visit to Japan.

In an interview with Moscow Radio correspondent, Matsuha, adviser to the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, said he welcomed the Supreme Soviet delegation's visit to Japan and hoped that it would further deepen trust and mutual understanding between the people of the two countries.

Holds Talks With Diet Leaders

LD1311113789 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo November 13 TASS—"The Soviet-Japanese summit dialogue should become a turning point in relations between the two countries," said Aleksandr Yakovlev, deputy to the Soviet parliament and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

"The visit of Soviet legislators to Japan should be regarded as a preparation for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan in 1991," he continued. Yakovlev heads a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet which is on an official visit here.

The delegation met today Hajime Tamura, speaker of the Japanese House of Councillors. The meeting was attended by lawmakers of the Japanese ruling and opposition parties.

Yakovlev described the progress of perestroika in the USSR and assessed the present-day international situation. "We are living through a turning period," he said. "We are at a historic watershed moving from wars, armaments, conflicts and losses to a peaceful period in the life of humanity."

Touching on bilateral relations, Yakovlev said that trends are developing for the better. But it is still too early to say that they are steadily improving. He pointed to the Soviet desire to boost relations at an accelerated rate.

The USSR and Japan are natural partners. They have every opportunity to fill bilateral relations with a new content.

Both chambers' speakers noted that Japan follows the progress of perestroika in the USSR with interest. They pointed to the great importance of new thinking to improve East-West relations, ease international tension and ensure peace and stability in the world.

The Japanese legislators noted the great role played by interparliamentary contacts in the increasing understanding between the USSR and Japan.

They also said that the development of Japanese-Soviet relations would make a great contribution to ensuring peace and prosperity in the Asian-Pacific region. At the same time the Japanese side again raised the so-called territorial question.

The Soviet delegation head noted that it is necessary to remove misunderstandings in the contemporary world as soon as possible, and that this should be done on a realistic basis.

Two countries can successfully conduct talks when both of them are active. It is common knowledge today that the Soviet Union is very active in its foreign policy.

On the instruction of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Yakovlev invited a delegation of the Japanese parliament, including the speakers of the two chambers, to visit the Soviet Union.

More on Diet Talks

OW1311121389 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 0300 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Politburo Member Yakovlev of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who arrived in Japan yesterday, met with the House of Representatives speaker and House of Councillors president this morning. At the meetings, the Soviet Politburo member said that, in the midst of worldwide detente, the Soviet Union wants to promote improved relations with Japan through Chairman Gorbachev's visit to Japan scheduled for 1991.

Mr Yakovlev, who arrived in Tokyo yesterday at the head of a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to Japan, is regarded as an influential braintrust of Chairman Gorbachev and virtually the No 2 man in the Kremlin.

At his meeting with the Soviet visitor, Speaker of the House of Representatives Tamura referred to future Japanese-Soviet relations and said that Japan eagerly desires to establish stable relations at the earliest possible date after resolving the pending northern territories issue and concluding a peace treaty.

In response, Politburo Member Yakovlev said: To mankind the world today is in a transitional period and at a peaceful turning point. At this juncture Japan plays a very important role. A highest-level Soviet official's visit to Japan is scheduled for 1991 and we hope to make the visit an opportunity for a change for improved relations, transcending the historical ill feelings between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Meeting with Mr Yakovlev separately, House of Councillors President Tsuchiya said that, in order to improve relations between the two countries, he hopes to activate exchanges between not only the two governments but also parliamentarians of the two countries. Mr Yakovlev agreed to his view.

Mr Yakovlev and his party are scheduled to meet with Prime Minister Kaifu and Foreign Minister Nakayama this afternoon and will be received in audience by His Majesty the Emperor tomorrow.

Meets Nakayama 13 Nov

OW1311113789 Tokyo KYODO in English 1102 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 13 KYODO—Soviet Communist Party Politburo Member Aleksandr Yakovlev told Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama on Monday [13 November] that Soviet-Japanese relations are "the missing wheel" in the process of reconciliation among nations in the Asian region.

Yakovlev, chief party ideologist and widely regarded as the No 2 man in the Kremlin, made the remarks on the second day of his week-long visit to Japan as head of a 23-member Soviet parliamentary delegation, the first of its kind since 1984, Japanese officials said.

Nakayama, meanwhile, called on the Soviet Union to exert efforts to "dynamically" improve relations with Japan as it has in smoothing ties with the United States, officials said.

As a prelude to greatly expanded economic ties, he especially called for a resolution of the dispute over four northern islands occupied by the Soviets since the end of World War II.

In a two-hour meeting with Nakayama at the Foreign Ministry, Yakovlev said that despite a "progressive trend" in overall Soviet-Japanese relations, bilateral ties have not kept pace with the global trend toward reconciliation among nations.

He cited the Soviet Union's removal of intermediate-range missiles from Asia, its withdrawal of troops from Mongolia, and its normalization of ties with China.

He also saw a "positive tendency" toward a resolution of the Kampuchea conflict.

Yakovlev said "the car (of peace) is traveling on three wheels." He encouraged Japan to make the vehicle whole.

Nakayama responded to the metaphor by saying that the task of adding the missing wheel requires the efforts of "the wheel-maker and the wheel-fitter," a Japanese official who attended the meeting said.

He called on Yakovlev and Gorbachev to weave a territorial settlement with Japan into the positive changes they are precipitating on the international scene.

Nakayama used another metaphor in saying that "food that has been refrigerated for 44 years does not easily thaw when taken out," an apparent reference to Japan-Soviet relations in the postwar period.

Yakovlev reportedly responded to the foreign minister's analogy by saying that if the food is taken from the freezer prematurely there is a danger it will decompose before people are ready to eat it.

Japanese officials interpreted Yakovlev's comments to mean that it would not be productive to rush in attempting to resolve the territorial issue.

They said it may also signify that, given time, the Soviets would be willing to resolve the territorial problem.

Nakayama, speaking later to reporters, said he told Yakovlev he hopes that working-level groups set up by both countries last year will make a breakthrough on the territorial issue, thereby paving the way for the conclusion of a belated peace treaty.

He said a territorial settlement would give reason for "great expectations" as to future economic cooperation between Japan and the Soviet Union heading into the 21st Century.

Nakayama also said he told Yakovlev it is "indispensible" to have a "stabilized situation" if the two countries are to make progress toward a peace treaty.

Yakovlev was quoted by officials as saying he agreed on the need for enhanced Soviet-Japan relations in a wide variety of fields. But he expressed regret that there are currently only 20 joint ventures between the two countries.

Nakayama said that the inconvertibility of the ruble and the lack of a suitable infrastrcuture in the Soviet Far East were barriers to expanding cooperative economic ties.

Nakayama said the lack of a peace treaty, an allusion to Japan's reluctance to pursue full-scale economic ties with Moscow as long as the disputed islands—Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and the Habomai group—are in Soviet hands, also presented an obstacle to economic relations.

Yakovlev replied that while there may not be a peace treaty at present, it is not as if the two countries are still in a state of war. He encouraged the expansion of economic relations separate from politics.

"There were no big surprises," commented a Foreign Ministry official in summarizing the meeting.

Holds Talks With Kaifu

OW1311122889 Tokyo KYODO in English 1205 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 13 KYODO—Soviet Communist Party Politburo Member Aleksandr Yakovlev criticized the current state of Soviet-Japan relations as "over-politicized" in a meeting on Monday with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, Foreign Ministry officials said.

Yakovlev, in a 45-minute meeting with Kaifu at the prime minister's official residence, called on Japan to allow bilateral relations to develop without artificial constraints, noting that there is no military confrontation between the two countries.

He stressed the importance of simultaneously developing all aspects of the relationship without getting bogged down in any particular issue.

The remarks by Yakovlev, chief party ideologist and widely regarded as the No. 2 man in the Kremlin, came in reference to Japan's insistence on resolving a territorial dispute over four Soviet-occupied northern islands before moving forward with a significant expansion of economic and other ties with Moscow.

The islands—Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and the Habomai group—were seized by the Soviets just after World War II and have precluded the signing of a peace treaty between the two countries ever since.

Kaifu, without explicitly mentioning the territorial dispute, responded that if the two sides are able to find a solution to one certain problem, a multifaceted relationship as called for by Yakovlev could indeed become reality.

Yakovlev told Kaifu that while the Japanese Government's (territorial) position may be backed by strong public opinion, the Soviet Government receives similar support from its populace for its stand.

The Soviet official spoke two days after a KYODO NEWS SERVICE poll showing that 85 percent of former Japanese residents evicted by the Soviets from the territories in the days following the end of World War II hope for their return.

Yakovlev conveyed a message of greetings from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who said the leaders of the two countries are responsible for progress in bilateral relations, according to officials.

Kaifu expressed his appreciation of Gorbachev's reform efforts and said he hoped for establishment of relations with Moscow based on "everlasting mutual trust," officials said.

He called for a continuing dialogue between the two countries in the context of working groups set up to discuss issues, specifically the territorial issue, standing in the way of a peace treaty.

The next meeting, the fourth since the forum was launched last December, is set for next month.

Yakovlev was optimistic about future Soviet-Japan relations, noting how when the Romans destroyed Carthage in 202 B.C., and scattered the surrounding land with salt to keep it desolate of foliage, the greenery reemerged, in the course of time.

Yakovlev's meeting with Kaifu followed those earlier in the day with Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama, House of Representatives Speaker Hajime Tamura and House of Councillors President Yoshihiko Tsuchiya.

Speaks on Development of Ties With Japan

LD1311144189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1102 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Nov (TASS)—The Soviet Union is solidly in favor of developing and deepening positive trends in relations with Japan. Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is heading a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet which is here at the moment, said that the sincerity and seriousness of this approach is confirmed by the official visit to Japan by the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman which is scheduled for 1991. He was speaking at a reception today organized by the chairman of the Japanese houses of parliament in honor of the Soviet parliamentarians.

It has been 5 years since the last visit to Japan by Soviet legislators, Aleksandr Yakovlev said, but this is the first delegation from our new parliament. Five years is no small period of time by current standards. In the life of the Soviet Union, and that of the world as a whole, this period has been marked by advances of a most serious and historic scale and character; by changes in many ways already irreversible; and—we are firmly convinced of this—by changes for the better, toward individual freedom, toward a democratic social system, and toward people's well- being.

There is a Japanese saying that when violence enters the home, justice leaves it. However, when violence leaves the home, justice does not return immediately. It is, however, a lot easier for it to return. Today, violence is slowly beginning to meet resistance and, almost reluctantly, to be squeezed out of our common home, the planet Earth. And this inspires hope and strengthens faith that a better, more just, safe, and humane world can be attained.

It is precisely under these conditions that dialogue between parliamentarians of the two countries is resuming. This is against the background of the new realities of world and domestic politics, against the background of advances which would have seemed unthinkable even 3 or 4 years ago, and against the background not only of hope, but also of a clear recognition of new opportunities.

It is also true that the present period is still complex and has many inherent dangers. Nuclear and ecological threats, urbanization without limits, the crisis of many traditional institutions and symbols of authority; the threat of cultural degradation and moral impoverishment; and the inability to withstand moral pressure from the technocratic world—these are all features of the contemporary period. They are calling loudly for realism, the realism of that supreme purpose which sees the trends of today and finds within them guidelines for more rational, worthy, and prosperous structuring of life in the future.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about this realism in Vladivostok in 1986 and in Krasnoyarsk in 1988. At that time, the Soviet leader's proposals seemed more like daydreams to some people, or at best a rough scheme for the distant future. However, many of the proposals have already become a reality. There are no longer any intermediate-range missiles, including in the Asian part of the USSR. Soviet troops have left Afghanistan. Our military presence as an ally in the Mongolian People's Republic has been reduced by 75 percent. Soviet-Chinese relations have been normalized, and steps are being developed to reduce the military confrontation on that border. The USSR's relations with many Asian countries have been normalized and are developing, including those with Indonesia and other ASEAN countries. The process of a Cambodian settlement is taking place, though it is no simple matter. There has also been a certain activation in Soviet-Japanese relations.

But the main thing is undoubtedly ahead. Not only the USSR and Japan, but also all the other countries of the region, are fated to be each other's neighbors. But, displaying a little less selfishness and looking a little further ahead, they can also be natural partners. We are sometimes asked to disarm unilaterally or lose certain specific interests. But, how is that possible in a world that is still arming itself, in which there are still foreign bases and troops on foreign territory, and in which effective means of verification [kontrol] and measures of trust have yet to be worked out?

One of the biggest tasks on the way to a new world is to demilitarize our consciousness, psychology, and habits; and with them, our politics. A lot of stones and dust have accumulated in our relations. But you, the Japanese, say yourselves that this is what forms the mountains which divide people.

Of course, we are not beginning everything from the beginning. There have been worse times, and there have been better ones. Recently, the political dialogue has been increased. It has become more businesslike, and, which is the main thing, oriented toward new objectives. Cultural exchanges are becoming livelier. It is time for a serious breakthrough in commercial and economic contacts. Especially economic ones, since trade alone cannot satisfy the demands of the modern world.

The head of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation noted that we live in an increasingly interdependent world in which each nation can develop in conditions of security and prosperity only if the prosperity and security of others is also enhanced. A quarter of a century of Soviet-Japanese parliamentary contacts convince us that legislators began to be aware of this truth long ago. It is now time for the increase in dialogue and mutual understanding to produce practical conclusions and steps. I am sure that our peoples will welcome such a portentous change of direction in our relations.

On 'Constructive' Japanese Stance

LD1311155389 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo November 13 TASS—The Soviet leadership attaches "exclusively great importance" to relations with Japan and would like them to be truly good-neighbourly and substantive, Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of Soviet Communist Party Politburo, said here today.

In the opinion of the Soviet side, this is dictated both by national interests and broader objectives of security worldwide and especially in the Asia-Pacific region, Yakovlev, who heads a Soviet parliamentary delegation to Japan, stated during a meeting with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu.

The Japanese premier stressed that his government attaches great importance to improving ties with the USSR and favours their balanced development.

The Soviet Union regards Japan's stance as constructive, Yakovlev said. It intends to aim towards the further development of bilateral ties in order to open a new chapter in relations, in keeping with the existing understanding.

This can be achieved by following principles that have already proved their efficiency in handling the most complicated problems. These are political will, account of realities and balance of interests, he said.

Further on Tokyo Meetings

OW1311153489 Tokyo KYODO in English 1456 GMT 13 Nov 89

[By Tim Johnson]

[Excerpts] Tokyo, Nov. 13 KYODO—Soviet Communist Party Politburo Member Aleksandr Yakovlev on Monday [13 November] frowned on the current "over-politicized" state of Soviet-Japanese ties and described them as the "missing wheel" in the process of peace and reconcilation in Asia, Foreign Ministry officials said Monday.

Yakovlev, the most senior Soviet party official ever to visit Japan, made the remarks in separate meetings with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama on the second day of his week-long visit to Japan as head of a 23-member parliamentary delegation.

Yakovlev, said to be the No. 2 man in the Kremlin after President Mikhail Gorbachev, told Kaifu in a 45-minute meeting that he saw a "positive tendency" in relations between the two countries.

But he added that Japan should not purposefully stunt the natural growth of overall bilateral relations by pegging their development to particular political issues.

In a two-hour meeting earlier with Nakayama, he lamented that while peaceful developments are taking place across Asia, Soviet-Japanese relations are lagging conspicuously behind in the global reconciliatory trend.

Yakovlev's remarks were in apparent reference to Japan's insistence on clearing up a territorial dispute over four Soviet-occupied northern islands before moving forward with a significant expansion of economic and other ties with Moscow.

The islands—Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and the Habomai group—were seized by the Soviets just after World War II and have precluded the signing of a peace treaty between the two countries ever since.

In a meeting earlier in the day with Ichiro Ozawa, secretary general of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Yakovlev reportedly promised that Moscow will put forth an unspecified new plan to settle the dispute-.[passage omitted]

Noting Moscows's efforts in achieving a turnabout in relations with the United States, Nakayama called on the Soviets to make similar "dynamic" efforts in resolving the territorial problem with Japan.

He said a territorial settlement would give reason for "great expectations" as to future economic cooperation between Japan and the Soviet Union in the 21st Century.

Japan has discouraged full - fledged economic ties with Moscow as long as the disputed islands remain in Soviet hands.

Yakovlev encouraged the expansion of economic relations separate from politics, saying that despite the lack of a peace treaty, it is not as if the two countries are still in a state of war.

Nakayama said that part of the problem of expanding trade ties is economic, pointing to the inconvertibility of the ruble and the lack of a suitable infrastructure in the Soviet Far East.

Yakovlev replied that both problems are now being addressed by the Soviet Government.

Both Kaifu and Nakayama expressed their keen desire to see progress in the ambitious reform program being orchestrated by Gorbachev and Yakovlev.

Yakovlev met earlier in the day with House of Representatives speaker Hajime Tamura and House of Councillors President Yoshihiko Tsuchiya.

Kaifu Puzzled by Yakovlev's Remarks

OW1411063989 Tokyo KYODO in English 0612 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 14 KYODO—Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu said Tuesday he does not know what Soviet Communist Party Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev was implying in saying there could be an alternative way to settle a long-standing bilateral territorial dispute.

At a meeting earlier Tuesday with Liberal Democratic Party Secretary General Ichiro Ozawa, Yakovlev was quoted as saying Moscow will study "a third way" to resolve the territorial issue involving four Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido claimed by Japan. But Yakovlev did not elaborate on the nature of the fresh overture.

Kaifu told reporters at his official residence that Japan cannot back down from its basic stand on the territory.

Chief Cabinet Secretary Mayumi Moriyama told a morning press conference she understands Yakovlev's remark to mean that Moscow hopes not to remain static on the territorial issue but to expand overall ties with Japan.

Meanwhile, Ozawa said at a morning press conference that Yakovlev showed a positive stance toward resolving the territorial issue.

A top-level Foreign Ministry official, agreeing with Moriyama, said Japan and the Soviet Union are promoting ties multilaterally.

Japan has long called for the return of the four islands—the Habomais, Shikotan, Etorofu, and Kunashiri—to the north-east of Hokkaido, which the Soviet Union seized at the end of World War II.

Later, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said it has yet to be clarified how the remarks relate to the two countries' territorial dispute.

"What he really tried to mean by 'the third approach' is not so clear," said ministry spokesman Taizo Watanabe in a meeting with foreign correspondents.

Watanabe said Yakovlev was probably not suggesting "a concrete proposal" for resolving the dispute over the four islands.

He cautioned that it would be "dangerous" to read too much into the Soviet official's words.

The spokesman surmised that Yakovlev merely meant to find how to facilitate bilateral negotiations "with a view to achieving the purpose of an earlier conclusion of a peace treaty."

Japan has traditionally held that a territorial settlement is a precondition for conclusion of a peace treaty.

It looked like Yakovlev was not really talking about the territorial issue in isolation, Watanabe said, adding that he was probably alluding to "negotiations between Japan and the Soviet Union as a whole."

One possibility, Watanabe said, was that he was referring to Japan's agreement to put other issues besides the territorial issue or the table for bilateral discussions toward a peace treaty.

Japan agreed in working-level talks last December that it would make room for such other subjects as strengthening of trade ties, science and technological cooperation, and increased personnel exchanges.

Watanabe said as the multifaceted talks progress, it will likely become clear as to whether they themselves represent the third approach referred to by Yakovlev.

Radio on Delegation's Activities

OW1411031389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo, is continuing its visit in Japan. The TASS correspondent in Tokyo has filed the following report:

The Soviet delegation held talks with Mr Hajime Tamura, speaker of the House of Representatives, and Mr Yoshihiko Tsuchiya, speaker of the House of Councillors, on 13 November. The meeting was also attended by Diet Members of the ruling and opposition parties.

Delegation leader Yakovlev described the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and stated his views on the current international situation. He spoke as follows: We are now greeting a turning point. We are at an historic watershed. In other words, we are moving from war, armaments, conflicts, and sacrifices to a peaceful period in the life of humanity.

After making these remarks, delegation head Yakovlev further touched on the problems related to the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, and pointed out as follows: The dialogue to be held between our two nations at the top level should lead to a turning point in the relations between our two nations. The Soviet parliamentary delegation's visit to Japan should be taken as related to the preparations for the visit to Japan—scheduled in 1991—by Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and concurrently president of the Supreme Soviet. There is a trend recently for the bilateral relations to develop for the better, but it is still too early to say that they are steadily improving. The Soviet Union intends to expand bilateral relations at a faster pace, and we hope that it can do so. The Soviet Union and Japan are natural partners. We have every opportunity to fill the bilateral relations with a new content. This is what delegation leader Yakovlev has stated.

In response, Speaker Tamura of the House of Representatives and Speaker Tsuchiya of the House of Councillors pointed out that the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union had aroused great attention in Japan. They also pointed to the great importance of the policies based on new thinking to improve East-West relations, ease international tension, and ensure peace and stability in the world. Furthermore, the Japanese side said that the exchanges between the parliamentarians would be of great significance to deepening mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Japan, and that the development of Soviet-Japanese relations would make a great contribution to ensuring peace and prosperity in the Asian-Pacific region. At the same time, the Japanese side again raised the so-called territorial issue.

Meanwhile, Soviet delegation head Yakovlev pointed out that it is necessary to remove all misunderstanding in a realistic way and as soon as possible. And then he added: Only when our two nations can be active in a similar way can we successfully conduct talks. Incidentally, it is known to all today that the Soviet Union is very active in its foreign policy. This is what delegation head Yakovlev has stated.

Entrusted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, delegation head Yakovlev invited a Japanese parliamentarians delegation, as well as speakers of the both houses, to visit the Soviet Union.

Exchange of Views Assessed

LD1311190889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Nov 89

[from the "Vremya" newscast; V. Tsvetov video report]

[Text] [Announcer] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Comrade Yakovlev is in Japan on a visit. [Video shows Yakovlev and his delegation shaking hands with long line of Japanese officials; both sides seated, a Japanese official, then Yakovlev making speeches]

[Tsvetov] All the highest representatives of Japan's legislative and executive power hastened to meet the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the first working day of the visit. The USSR people's deputies had conversations with the chairmen of both chambers of the Japanese parliament; with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Foreign Affairs Minister Taro Nakayama; and with Ichiro Ozawa, general secretary of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. [Video shows building exteriors; more hand-shaking scenes; sides seated in armchairs, in discussion]

Such at attitude to the delegation is not simply a manifestation of Japanese politeness. Behind such emphatically pronounced attention stands a new appraisal of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which has now turned from a body which automatically approved policy into a body actively formulating policy. In comparison with the past, the nature of the conversations has changed also. In the Japanese parliament, in the prime minister's residence and in the Japanese Foreign Affairs Ministry there took place not an exchange of politeness befitting the occasion—although all the conversations were distinguished by an exceptionally benevolent tone—but in a lively discussion that took place, as should be the case when there is a meeting between people interested in achieving mutually-acceptable results. [Video shows Soviets and Japanese at talks around a table]

Perestroyka in our country was also having an effect in this somewhat unexpected way at the forum of parliamentary dealings. What was the talk about? The talk was about the situation in the world and in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region; about the state of, and prospects for the development of Soviet-Japanese relations; about the role of the two country's highest legislative bodies in creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cooperation on international policy issues. Evidently the Soviet delegation demonstrated a clearer and deeper awareness of new possibilities which are opening up in Soviet-Japanese relations, for certain Japanese journalists responded to the first day of parliamentary meetings in this way: The Japanese side on the defensive.

Well, we'll put such an appraisal down to journalistic excitement, which sometimes happens, the more so since the visit of the Soviet delegation has nothing in common with an offensive. [Video shows Yakovlev at a microphone]

[Begin Yakovlev recording] We have travelled here with the best of intentions; to strengthen goodneighborliness and cooperation. We proceed from the fact that wars, violence, and conflicts have gone away forever from our relations. Another thing is arriving and strengthening: Trust, respect and goodwill. We hope that jointly with our Japanese colleagues we will succeed in making a worthy contribution to the attainment of these noble aims, in the interests of our great peoples. [end recording]

[Tsvetov] A confirmation of the sincerity and seriousness of such an approach to Soviet-Japanese relations, stressed Comrade Yakovlev, is the official visit to Japan, planned for 1991, of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Of course differences also appeared in the conversations which took place, in the points of view of the USSR and Japan on certain international problems, and particularly on the territorial question. But it is hardly worth dramatizing this part of the conversation. You see, in the final analysis, the main thing lies not in where we stand, but in what direction we are moving; and we are moving, as one can already judge from the present visit, in the direction of a qualitative change in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Japanese Emperor Receives Yakovlev

LD1411102789 Moscow TASS in English 0721 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo November 14 TASS—Japanese Emperor Akihito received today Aleksandr Yakovlev, deputy of the Soviet parliament and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. Yakovlev heads a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet visiting Japan at the invitation of the speakers of the Japanese parliament's two chambers.

Yakovlev conveyed an oral message to the emperor from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

During the meeting, the two sides agreed on the importance of deepening understanding and cooperation between the Soviet and Japanese peoples on the basis of good-neighbourly relations and mutual respect.

Gorbachev Message Delivered

OW1411054689 Tokyo KYODO in English 0451 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 14 KYODO—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, in a message delivered to Japan's Emperor Akihito on Tuesday, called for cooperative relations between the two countries, the Imperial Household Agency said.

Communist Party Politburo Member Aleksandr Yakovlev conveyed Gorbachev's message verbally to the Emperor during a 20-minute audience at the Imperial Palace, said Kiyoshi Sumiya, the grand master of ceremonies at the palace.

Empress Michiko and Yakovlev's wife Nina were present at the session.

Gorbachev said in the message that Japan is an important neighbor of the Soviet Union and the two nations need to join forces to resolve various global problems such as destruction of the environment.

The two couples chatted in a congenial atmosphere, Sumiya said.

Emperor Akihito expressed thanks for Gorbachev's message, Sumiya said in a briefing to reporters.

Yakovlev, who is regarded as the No. 2 man in the Kremlin only after Gorbachev, is the fourth high-level Soviet official to meet the Japanese monarch since World War II.

Emperor Akihito's father, the late Emperor Hirohito or Showa, met a Soviet vice premier in 1964 and Soviet parliamentary leaders in 1967 and 1969.

Asked whether Yakovlev offered an invitation for the Emperor to visit Moscow, Sumiya replied, "no comment."

Yakovlev is currently on a week-long visit to Japan through Saturday heading a 23-member Supreme Soviet parliamentary delegation.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Urged To Take Initiative in Iran Ties

NC1211130489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] President George Bush has extended the extraordinary measures against Iran. Thus, the U.S. economic sanctions against Iran which were imposed in 1980 and renewed every year have been extended.

Meanwhile, the Iranian Majlis has approved a bill under which the president is allowed to order the arrest of Americans committing illegal acts against Iranian citizens anywhere in the world and for them to brought to Iran for trial. The Majlis bill was Iran's answer to a similar decision adopted by the U.S. Congress on (?foreigners).

The fresh round of U.S.-Iranian confrontation shows the difficulty of achieving a victory for new thinking in international relations and the unhealthy and unbalanced state of the process of normalizing the world situation. One can justly say that the leaders of the two countries are sticking to old ways of thinking and are unable to regard the world from a new outlook. Both Washington and Tehran have shown that they are capable of making constructive decisions and that they are ready to carry out reforms in their foreign policies in line with the current spirit in the world. This is especially pronounced in their relations with the Soviet Union.

Despite the principled ideological differences between the Soviet Union and Iran and despite their strong confrontations in the past, both sides have decisively worked to improve bilateral relations and expand mutually beneficial cooperation. Following the recent visit by Iran's current president, Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, to the Soviet Union, several fundamental documents of a political-economic nature were signed. These documents envisage a long-term program for economic, commercial, scientific, and technical cooperation until the year 2000. An important final communique was also signed that stressed the principles of Soviet-Iranian relations, attached great signficance to goodneighborliness, and outlined the good prospects for the future expansion of Soviet-Iranian relations.

Progress has also been made in Soviet-U.S. relations. The two sides signed the agreement on dismantling medium- and short-range missiles and have implemented this agreement in a noteworthy way so far. Tension between the two has been markedly reduced, and the improvement of bilateral relations has allowed the two superpowers to take steps toward resolving regional conflicts. Even though there is still a long way to go until Soviet-U.S. relations are fully normalized, one should not underestimate the progress that has been made.

Why have no positive change taken place in U.S.-Iranian relations? The reason for this is rooted in the past and current relations between the two countries. Exactly 36 years ago the CIA engineered a coup in Iran, as a result of which Dr Mosaddeq's government was overthrown. Frankly speaking, the United States was responsible for the economic and political embargo imposed on Iran after the victory of the antimonarchical revolution and for the direct attack by U.S. soldiers against Iranian territory in April 1980. At a time when Iran is in serious need of funds and credits for its reconstruction, the United States is obstructing the complete release to Iran of billions of dollars which were taken by members of the former shah's government and deposited in U.S. banks. Naturally none of this helps ease anti-American sentiment among Iranians.

One cannot say that neither side has taken any steps to improve the situation. However, there has been no fundamental change of outlook, and secret Iranian-U.S. talks are taking place in parallel with the exacerbation of the concern felt by those who oppose the idea of Iran's making any basic concessions to Washington.

I think that, at any rate, Washington should take the initiative in ending the crisis in Iranian-U.S. relations. Meanwhile, the United States should put an end to its habit of imposing its views and flexing its muscles and work toward mutually beneficial relations with Iran.

Deputy Minister on Cooperation With Iran

LD1111103189 Teran IRNA in English 1017 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 11, IRNA—The visiting Soviet Deputy Heavy Power and Transport Machine Building Minister H.W. Gastik [name and title as received] and Iran's Deputy Heavy Industries Minister Mohsen Safaei Farahani started their first round of talks here Saturday [11 November].

The two sides reviewed bilateral cooperation in the field of energy, wagon manufacturing and casting industries.

During the talks, eight expert committees were assigned to make a survey over subjects of mutual agreement and prepare a protocol to be signed by the ministers of the two countries.

Gastik arrived here at the head of an eco-technical delegation Thursday [9 November] and is scheduled to visit a number of Iranian machine and wagon manufacturing factories during his stay.

Katushev Talk With Velayati in Tehran Noted

PM0811205389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Excerpt] A meeting was held 2 November in Tehran between A.A. Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, who is on a visit here. A.A. Velayati described the prospects for Soviet-Iranian relations as "favorable." "We have no doubt," he said, "that the expansion of bilateral relations could play an important role in the region." The Soviet minister noted that there are substantial opportunities for cooperation between the two countries and that the prospects of this cooperation go beyond the 20th Century. [Passage omitted]

Changes in Iranian Armed Forces Analyzed

NC0911211189 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Dear friends: There have recently been some major changes in the military establishment in Iran. It seems that there has been a shift in the country's military viewpoint, and the Armed Forces and the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps (IRGC) appear to be in the throes of a change. New people are being appointed to responsible military positions. Today we will speak to Yuriy Andreyev, the Radio Moscow commentator, on this subject:

[Begin recording] [Andreyev] Some time ago 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the president of Iran, speaking at a military parade of units of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Armed Forces, said that the war is now over and Iran is embarking on reconstruction.

It may be said that these remarks reflect the nature of the new approach of the Iranian leadership toward issues related to the Armed Forces. The size of the Armed Forces is quite large. According to international calculations, the Iranian Armed Forces comprise nearly 600,000 (?career) troops and 300,000 Islamic Revolution Guards. Now, it cannot be said that the whole country has been mobilized, because the trend of discharging volunteers whose names have been officially registered and who participated in the war as soldiers and officers, but without any formal military rank, is continuing apace. I recall that the number of volunteers participating in the Iran-Iraq war reached 2 million.

[Announcer] You mentioned a reduction in the size of the Armed Forces. Are there any qualitative changes taking place in the highest levels of the Armed Forces?

[Andreyev] Yes, changes are taking place which are very interesting. For example, for the first time in the history of Iran, a civilian is heading the Armed Forces. Dr Akbar Torkan is the new defense minister. His appointment to this position is an important phenomenon and sets a precedent in military affairs. Akbar Torkan has specialized in the field of logistics and his job will be to expand ordnance production and to purchase modern equipment from abroad for the Armed Forces.

Simultaneously, another civilian, named Hasan Firuzabadi, who is in favor of a strong professional army, has been appointed chief of the General Staff Command. As far as is known, contrary to the practice in past years, the Government plans to rely on organized military units.

In any case, Majlis Speaker Mehdi Karrubi said some time ago that the parliament will categorically support the proposal to strengthen the organized units of the Armed Forces and equip them with modern technology.

[Announcer] Very well. In such a case, what role will be played by the IRGC?

[Andreyev] It appears that the IRGC members will gradually be merged into the Armed Forces. It has been decided to merge the Ministry of Defense and the IRGC Ministry and a new single organization called the Ministry of the Armed Forces has been set up. In conjunction with this, the trend of (?transfers) in the cadres continues. For example, some days ago, 'Ali Shamkhani, the former commander of the IRGC ground forces, was appointed commander of the Iranian Navy with the rank of rear admiral. Similarly, there is considerable evidence of qualitative changes in military affairs. It appears that Iran is no longer one huge military camp and is evolving into a civilian (?entity).

[Announcer] We thank you for participating in our program. [end recording]

Commentary on Iran's Economic Situation

NC1011200489 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "The World Today" feature]

[Text] Dear listeners, 'Abdol Hoseyn Vahhaji, the Iranian commerce minister, addressed correspondents in Mashhad and explained the initial outcome of the government's fiscal policy. He said that the government had formulated a special 5-year plan for invigorating the country's financial system.

Today, 10 years after the downfall of the monarchical regime and 1 year after the announcement of a cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq fronts, Iran continues to exist amid a plethora of serious economic difficulties. A large number of people are tired of enduring intense pessimism and despondency, a constant paucity of essential and consumer goods, high prices, and little pay.

The economic situation is such that numerous Iranians are very apprehensive about the future. Now with the beginning of the 2d decade of the Islamic revolution in the post-Khomeyni period, the present Iranian leadership is forced to assume responsibility for the present state of affairs and to choose the correct economic policy.

Iran's economic situation in recent years is the result of such a choice. It may be said that the real direction of the present government's economic policy has now been defined. The present leadership has based its policy on the mechanism of the market, reduction of the country's interference in the economic life, and attracting private investment.

In keeping with this policy, a month ago the Iranian Central Bank began to implement its new financial policy. The main point of this policy is that representatives of the private sector should be permitted to deal in foreign exchange. Iranian dealers were allowed to purchase foreign exchange from the Central Bank, and no limits were specified. In this way, the government relinquished its monopoly on foreign exchange transactions and authorized private investment instead.

Government experts were optimistic that such a step would deal a massive blow to the black market and to those involved in shady economics, thus immensely reducing hoarding of foreign exchange. This was expected to curb inflation and to then bring down prices. According to present indications, these measures proved efficacious to a certain extent.

According to Iranian Commerce Minister Mr 'Abdol Hoseyn Vahhaji, even now $1.2 billion in available capital has been mobilized for increasing imports. He said that 10 million tons of essential goods such as wheat, sugar, meat, and tea have been transported to Iranian ports. The commerce minister stated that according to estimates of government experts, by the end of the current year, 600 billion rials of available capital will be used to promote the country's economic growth.

The commerce minister said that the present situation in the country is conducive, to a certain extent, to converting foreign exchange. However, more precise analyses reveal that the conditions are not so superb. For example, the black market continues to flourish, and the value of the dollar on the black market has reached astronomical proportions.

One month ago, the value of the dollar was more in keeping with the government-proposed rates. Now it has risen considerably. The prices of foodstuffs and essential goods have spiraled. In addition, it is not clear whether the government has enough foreign exchange reserves to cater to the needs of all the importers. Many specialists are dubious over how $8 billion will be raised for these purposes. However the government's measures in the future may help in ameliorating Iran's economic condition, time is needed for this task.

Railroad To Link Turkmenia With Northeast Iran

PM1311133789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent V. Kuleshov under the rubric "In the Republics' Governments": "Mashhad Will Be Nearer"]

[Text] Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—The Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers has approved the documents selecting the areas of land for the construction of the new Tedzhan-Serakhs-Mashhad railroad in 1990.

"The implementation of the project for a new railroad which will link our republic and northeast Iran could well be said to be settled," Kh. Akhmedov, first deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, said. This was also emphasized when the agreements were signed between the two countries during A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to our country.

"As well as choosing the location of the new railroad and the sites where the construction teams will be housed, together with the utilities, the railroad construction workers base camp is being set up and the new line is being planned. This is being carried out by the 'Tashgiprotrans' planning and research institute, which is part of the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction. In the first half of next year the completed working plan is to be submitted for consideration. The railroad to Mashhad will be 320 km long in all: 120 km on our side and 200 km on the Iranian side. With the railroad, there will be more opportunities for developing border trade and direct links and for improving relations between our countries. Indeed, who is going to trade if not we neighbors?!" N. Nurklychev, chairman of the "Turkmenpotrebsoyuz" Board, said.

Only last year an agreement was signed on trade cooperation between the "Sharg Barter Trade Group," well known in the business world, and "Turkmenpotrebsoyuz." This year the opening of a special store in Ashkhabad selling Iranian goods was discussed among various questions concerned with concluding deals and contracts for the import and export of goods. It has already been decided that the store will be called "Mashhad."

'Awn, Mu'awwad Roles in Lebanon Examined

LD0911130389 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 9 Nov 89

["Prospects for Lebanese settlement—TASS comment"]

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov:

New President Rene Mu'awwad of Lebanon is faced with very difficult tasks. It is not at all easy to form a government of national accord. But it is even more important to achieve national reconciliation and normalise the situation.

These tasks could be solved easier in any country. And this is perfectly natural. The new Lebanese leader is expected to accomplish something his predecessors have failed to achieve—to rally the leaders of different armed formations which have fought each other for the past 14 years. This unification will [passage indistinct].

It is difficult to say what aspects of the process will play the decisive role. However, the religious factor appears to be most important. Even at the initial stage of the restoration of constitutional institutions this factor, in my opinion, prevails over all the others.

This explains why general Michel 'Awn, head of the Transitional Military Government, opposes the new political leader.

One gets the impression that the general is deliberately trying to deepen the country's division. There is no other explanation to his efforts to prevent the election of the head of state, to provoke Christians to protest against the election returns, to his claims that the election of Rene Mu'awwad contradicts the country's Constitution.

One of Michel 'Awn's main arguements against the "Charter of National Concord", approved by parliament, is that it lays down no time limits for the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon. But the general ignores the fact that the Syrian factor was not responsible for the civil war in Lebanon. He does not wish to reckon with the fact that relations with Syria are a particular aspect of Lebanese history, requiring a special approach to the solution of any bilateral problems.

As distinct from Rene Mu'awwad, who demands an immediate withdrawal of Israeli occupation troops from the country, 'Awn prefers to keep mum on this burning political issue.

It is not without reason therefore that the country's Christian community has gradually begun to turn away from its uncompromising military leader. The future of long-suffering Lebanon requires that the current historic compromise to restore peace, achieved through some titanic efforts, should not be torpedoed.

No political leader of the country, including Michel 'Awn, can turn a deaf ear to the practically unanimous international reaction to the decisions of the Lebanese parliament. The world community welcomes the really positive changes occurring in Lebanon and calls for an end to the bloodletting, for a peaceful solution of all disputes, and for the country's unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Baker, Shamir Middle East Plans Criticized

LD0811160889 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 8 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The Palestinian uprising in the West Bank of Jordan and Gaza Strip is in its 24th month. It is aimed at putting an end to Israel's occupation of native Arab lands and at ensuring Palestinians' freedom and independence and creation of their sovereign state.

The fact that despite terror of the Israeli military administration the uprising continues bespeaks of the Palestinian people's resolve to achieve the goals set.

The world community has long since recognized the Palestinian's equal right with Israelis to self-determination, and peaceful and secure life in their native land. But they are denied this by Israel.

This situation is the main cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict that has continued for many years. And though of late there have been many proposals aimed at the settlement of the conflict, there has been no progress toward this.

There are two explanations for this state of things. First, far from all proposals preceed from balancing the interests of the warring sides. The Shamir plan and the Baker plan have these shortcomings.

Second, all international efforts to reconcile the sides are brought to nought by Israel.

The plans of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker actually do not go further than elections in Israel-occupied territories.

They are attractive only for one side—Israel. meanwhile, the other side, the Palestinian people, is not guaranteed the main thing—freedom and statehood.

Neither the USA nor Israel views the proposed Israeli-Palestinian dialogue as a step towared convening an international Middle East conference under the United Nations auspices with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people.

Neither Washington nor Tel Aviv is prepared to make the elections they propose to be held in the West Bank of Jordan and Gaza Strip an initial stage on the road to universal settlement in the region envisaging durable and fair peace and security for all the sides.

Then how can one count on the success of the quests for the solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict?

If one makes claims to realism in the Middle East policy, one should not strive to keep the PLO from the negotiating process. And this is precisely where the U.S. and Israeli initiatives lead.

The refusal to recognize the PLO, which is Tel Aviv's condition for recognising Baker plan, dooms to failure any versions for the solution of the Palestinian problem which is central to the Middle East conflict.

To disregard the PLO means to undermine the efforts of the international community seeking settlement in the region.

This is why the Shamir plan and the Baker plan can hardly be regarded as sincere. None of these plans will bring peace to the long-suffering land of the Middle East.

Success can be ensured only by a painstaking quest for balanced and mutually acceptable compromises, not by ultimatums.

UNSC Debates Occupied Palestinian Territories

LD0811102789 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] New York November 8 TASS—The U.N. Security Council [UNSC] convened at the request of a group of Arab states ended the examination of the situation on the occupied Palestinian territories on Tuesday.

For two days members of the Security Council were discussing the situation aggravated by Israeli actions in the area of Beit Sahur, which was recently fully blockaded by Israeli troops and declared "a closed military zone".

However, the U.S. delegate voted against a draft resolution on this question. Clovis Maksoud, Arab League permanent observer at the U.N., said that the U.S. veto in the Security Council means, in fact, the support for Tel Aviv's inhuman measures, and the Palestinians remain Israeli hostages as before.

The draft resolution pointed to the urgent need to examine measures for international protection of civilians under the conditions of Israeli occupation.

The document also notes that the Israeli policy and practices on the occupied territories interfere with efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Aleksandr Belonogov, Soviet permanent representative to the U.N., stressed that the Soviet Union condemns reprisals by the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian populaiton.

The real guarantee of security is ensured not by control over an occupied territory but by the removal of prime causes of the conflict and a search for the balance of interests of all parties involved.

The Soviet chief delegate noted that a broad consensus has developed in the world for calling an international conference on the Middle East. Its preparatory stage can be diverse in nature.

The United Nations and especially Security Council can play an important role in this respect. Quite a number of ideas and proposals aimed at pushing off the ground the peace process in the Middle East were put forth in the recent past.

The task now is to sum up all these proposals and to find an acceptable compromise for all, Belonogov said.

U.S., Soviet Officials Discuss Mideast

LD1411093189 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 14 TASS—Senior aide to the Soviet foreign minister, special Soviet envoy on Middle East G.P. Tarasov conveyed Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's letter to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at a meeting with Dennis Ross, State Department Political Planning Group director, on Monday.

In the discussion that followed, the two diplomats focused on the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Tarasov called for a comprehensive solution of the regional conflict with the participation of all interested sides on the basis of a balance of interests—including Arabs, Palestinians and Israelis.

The United Nations was cited as playing a key role in any long-lasting settlement.

Diverse peace efforts toward the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the beginning of a genuine peace process aim to prepare for an international Middle East conference.

Moscow Roundtable Discusses Palestinian Uprising

PM0911104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A "roundtable" session held in Moscow 2 November was devoted to the "intifadah"—the uprising by the Palestinian population of the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

The event was attended by N. 'Amr, PLO representative extraordinary in the USSR.

PLO Official Calls for Attention to Middle East

LD1311160889 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) hopes that the Soviet-American summit early in December or the following summits will take specific moves and draft understandings concerning a settlement of the Middle East problem, Nabil 'Amr, PLO representative to the USSR, told a news conference here today.

The news conference was held on the occasion of the first anniversary of the organisation's policy-making documents—the political statement and the declaration of independence—adopted by the session of the Palestine National Council.

The PLO welcomes rapprochement between the Soviet and American positions and is sure that the stabilisation of the international situation gives a new chance for settling Palestinian problems, the PLO representative noted.

The Soviet Union is exerting efforts to settle Middle East problems. The PLO is quite sure that these efforts will bring about positive results and that peace will be established in the Middle East, he continued.

The representative also expressed hope that the Palestinian people will win the right to self-determination and to establish an independent state.

'Amr called on the international community to intensify work in support of the Palestinian people's struggle for freedom and independence.

Commentary Views PLO, Israeli Negotiations

TA0911210289 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] The PLO is willing to adopt U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's plan if it is permitted to be responsible for the composition of the Palestinian delegation to the negotiations, if all parties agree to the principle of territories for peace, and if the permanent settlement will be endorsed in an international conference on the Middle East to be held under the aegis of the UN and with the participation of the superpowers. This was reported by the AL-AHRAM newspaper on the basis of sources within the PLO Executive which convened in Cairo.

At the same time, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens has said that Israel is also willing to discuss the establishment of a Palestinian state, even though such an entity would not contribute to the peace process, in Israel's opinion.

Our commentator Dimitriy Prokofiev asserts that the first steps taken by Israel and the Palestinians on the way to negotiations are very small and cautious steps. This is only natural, because all the parties involved in the Middle East conflict understand very well that the way to achieve an agreement will be long and arduous. The aspiration of both Israel and the Palestinians to receive U.S. guarantees, preferably in writing, is understandable. No less understandable is the U.S. unwillingness to issue such guarantees, especially guarantees in writing. Under the changing conditions, it may bring about all kinds of alterations and amendments to the alterations, demands for clarifications and clarifications to the clarifications, and thus these may eventually block the whole process. However, despite the caution exercised by all sides, we may now safely say that both parties are seriously considering negotiations to solve the problems of the Middle East.

The PLO announced the change in its position 1 year ago already. Now its promises are taking shape in reality. If they are already prepared to endorse a delegation of Palestinians from the territories who may be PLO supporters but are definitely not key members of the organization and to empower them to negotiate with Israel—something which constitutes a significant withdrawal from the organization's traditional position, which was that they are the only parties to every negotiation—this is already a very important development. Nevertheless, we discern no parallel concessions from Israel's side. However, here we must take the special situation inside Israel into consideration: the relatively great weight, compared to the 'Arafat camp, of people who desire no compromise. Today, steps are being taken to neutralize the extreme right; and this, of course, is a welcome development.

My impression is that the statement made by Minister Arens on the readiness to discuss the issue of the Palestinian state, which was taboo in Jerusalem until now, reflects the process of the gradual strengthening of the realistic elements in Israel's policy. Can we achieve the current goal of the peace process and arrive at the stage of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on elections in the territories without significant change in the positions of both sides? It appears that the answer is yes.

One should pay attention to the caution both sides are showing on the question of the composition of the Palestinian delegation, which is the major issue of contention right now. On the surface, it seems that the gap in positions cannot be bridged; the PLO rightly demands that its right to represent the Palestinian people be taken into account, while Jerusalem adamantly refuses any negotiations with the PLO.

At the same time, however, both sides are attempting to circumvent the points of dissension. Israel submitted its demands as to the composition of the delegation without addressing its actual establishment, while the PLO demands it be allowed to decide the composition of the delegation; or in other words, the PLO's demand is on the establishment of the delegation and not on its final composition. Admittedly, both sides have demands that are not acceptable to the other side, but these are the rules of the diplomatic game—to demand the maximum in order to finally achieve a possible minimum. Experience with negotiations in various regions and on various issues proves that reaching a compromise is always possible. The important thing is giving the political process an irreversible momentum; and for the moment, it appears as though both sides—Israel and the PLO—are seriously preparing for such a possibility.

Gerasimov Meets Tunisian Officials, 'Arafat

LD0811213789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Tunis, 8 Nov (TASS)—G.I. Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, who has been attending the international symposiumm "Democratic Changes in the Modern World," has had a meeting here with Abderrahim Zouari, secretary general of Tunisia's ruling party, the Democratic Constitutional Rally. A thorough conversation was held on questions of mutual interest. G.I. Gerasimov talked about the progress of perestroyka in the USSR, and the development of the processes of glasnost and democracy. It was noted that the democratic transformations in the Soviet Union and the new political thinking are having a positive effect on the international situation and were helping to improve it.

The Soviet representative also had a meeting with Habib Ben Yahia, state secretary for foreign affairs. On Tuesday, G.I. Gerasimov was received by Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

Afghan Rebels Clash, U.S. 'Advisers' Arrive

LD0911120289 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Kabul November 9 TASS—Fierce clashes flared up again in the past 24 hours between detachments of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Islamic Society of Afghanistan in Balkh and Sar-e Pol provinces. Twelve rebels were killed and dozens wounded.

Troops of the Afghan Ministry of Internal Affairs "mopped up" Haki-Jabbar [name as received] District near Kabul, the BAKHTAR news service reports. Two hundred missiles and large quantities of other ammunition were captured.

Four American advisers have arrived recently to instruct armed detachments commanded by Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, who is active in Panjsher district, Parvan province. A team of Saudi military experts has appeared in detachments of the Islamic party of Afghanistan, headed by Fath. They will organise subversive acts and attacks on truck convoys bringing cargoes from Khayraton to Kabul via the Salang Pass.

Kabul public groups submitted a letter of protest to the U.N. Good Offices Mission in the country on Wednesday. It is addressed to the U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar. The letter expresses indignation at missile attacks on Kabul and calls for pressure to be exerted on Pakistan, the United States and Saudi Arabia in order to make them fulfil the resolution on Afghanistan approved by the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has lodged four more protest notes with the U.N. mission citing new Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords.

Forty-six more refugees have returned to Baghlan Province.

The BAKHTAR news service notes that almost [illegible]30,000 Afghans have returned to the country after the policy of national reconciliation was declared.

Shevardnadze Meets With Indian Envoy

LD1111184889 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today received Indian Ambassador to the USSR Alfred Sylvester Gonsalves at the latter's request.

During the conversation, which had an open and friendly nature, a substantive exchange of views on some key moments of the current situation in the world and ways to further strengthen Soviet-Indian interaction in world affairs, as well as some bilateral issues took place.

Shevardnadze noted that the Indian direction was one of the priorities of Soviet foreign policy. The treaty on peace, friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India, the Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear-free and non-violent world are viewed by Moscow as a reliable foundation of the entire multidimensional complex of Soviet-Indian relations. Special note was taken of the importance of the tradition of personal contacts between Soviet and Indian leaders.

Gonsalves solidarised with the assessments that were expressed and stressed that they fully coincided with the approaches of the Indian Government. The Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union said he regarded assistance to the comprehensive strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the two countries as his main goal.

Political Tensions in Pakistan Viewed

BK0311134389 Moscow in Hindi to India 1130 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Aleksandr Batev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, reports from Islamabad say that during National Assembly voting on the no-confidence motion against Benazir Bhutto, the combined opposition had to face defeat. Only 107 Assembly members voted in favor of the no-confidence motion, whereas 119 votes were required to pass the resolution. Radio Moscow commentator Aleksandr Batev writes in connection with this:

Perhaps the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] has overcome the most serious crisis to upset the Benazir Bhutto government during its brief tenure. Now the question arises of whether the Benazir Bhutto government's position has become unstable or has become strong after its confrontation with its opponents. The answer will, to a great extent, depend upon the government's future course of action—first of all, whether or not it will learn lessons from the political manoeuvres connected with the no-confidence motion.

The no-confidence motion did not succeed. But in the political game, the problems which the opposition in Pakistan tried to take advantage of exist even today. In the first place, there is the problem of the social and economic difficulties faced by the majority of the people. As most observers opine, during its tenure the Bhutto government has not succeeded in taking any effective steps in this direction and it has not fulfilled all of its pledges made during the election campaign.

As is known, the People's Party won the elections last year only because of its pledges to improve the people's living conditions. Due to the breach of its pledges, a feeling of disappointment about the Bhutto government's performance has been spreading and the opposition leaders took full advantage of it. They tried to weaken the PPP's position.

On seeing the price hikes in the market, will the Pakistani citizens think every time that it is due to Pakistan's commitment to the International Monetary Fund? Do they know that these commitments were made not by the Benazir Bhutto government, but by the previous military regime? Then, will they bear in mind that Benazir Bhutto cannot increase grants for social welfare programs because almost the entire budget of the country is allocated for military spending and the repayment of foreign debts?

It seems that the people of Pakistan are aware of these facts. The outcome of the no-confidence motion vote in the National Assembly proves it. In this connection, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has announced that as long as she enjoys the people's support, she will remain in power. Now, she is not fully deprived of the people's confidence, but if the Government of Pakistan does not take effective, speedy steps in the direction of solving the existing problems in the country, nobody knows what will happen. The Government of Pakistan will have to make its own decision on what steps should be taken.

In this connection, it is sufficient to say that Benazir Bhutto herself has complained several times that most of the problems she has to solve have been passed on to her as a legacy of the previous military regime. Generally, these problems involve the unfavorable external situation, such as the tension along the borders with Afghanistan and India. Thus, there is a justification for the huge military spending that deprives Pakistan of necessary resources for economic development.

Therefore, if a favorable external situation is created—which depends solely on Pakistan—it will help in solving Pakistan's internal problems. As far as India is concerned, thanks to Benazir Bhutto's meetings with Rajiv Gandhi, there has been some improvement in relations between the two countries and this process of normalization should continue.

As for a solution to the Afghanistan issue, it depends upon the end of war in Afghanistan and a political solution to its problems, which Benazir Bhutto has raised her voice in favor of. Benazir Bhutto became the target of the opposition's fury for raising her voice in favor of a political solution to the Afghanistan issue and for taking steps toward improving relations with India. But when compared to the opposition, she adopted a better far-sighted stand on this question.

Observers have drawn our attention to the fact that after Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's [leader of the National People's Party] announcement that if the opposition comes to power in Pakistan, the new government will recognize the interim government of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, the Islamic Democratic Alliance lost the support of the Awami National Party and the Baluchistan National Alliance to a great extent. The fact is that this would mean that the Afghan counterrevolutionaries were being encouraged to continue the war, whereas the Pakistani people despise the war more and more.

Doubtless, the balance of Pakistan's political forces is complicated and unclear. But I would like to bring to your attention the fact that in Pakistan the strength or influence of any party depends upon its capacity to understand and appreciate the hopes and aspirations of the people. This also applies to the strength and position of the Benazir Bhutto government. Undoubtedly, the political crisis it has faced is not the last. The following statement by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi also bears testimony to this. He said that the National Assembly vote on the no-confidence motion was only one confrontation in a long struggle.

Failure of Coup Attempt in Sudan Reported

EA0511195789 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] A coup attempt in Sudan has failed. The security forces have arrested seven high-ranking Sudanese military officials who attempted to overthrow the present regime. It was revealed that all of them had held high-ranking positions in Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's cabinet.

It should be recalled that the present government, led by General 'Umar al-Bashir, came to power in a coup last June. It has also been learned that nearly all former cabinet members are under arrest.

East Europe

Further on Opening of GDR Border With FRG

IZVESTIYA Updates Developments

PM1311163389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "GDR: Changes Every Day"]

[Text] Berlin—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo met in Berlin Sunday. In the evening Egon Krenz appeared on television with a statement that the Politburo had proposed that the party Central Committee hold not a party conference in mid-December, as had been decided earlier, but an extraordinary congress. A new Central Committee will be elected there. A plenum is meeting once again Monday evening to examine the proposals advanced by the Politburo.

A session of the board of the Democratic Bloc, which includes the parties and organizations with factions in the People's Chamber, has been held. E. Krenz delivered a report on his telephone conversation with FRG Chancellor H. Kohl. He also spoke about the SED Action Program adopted at the Central Committee plenum. Then the leaders of other parties and mass organizations expounded their own concepts and views on the process of profound changes in society.

A session of the People's Chamber begins Monday afternoon. It is to elect the president of parliament, his deputy, and the presidium, to discuss the situation in the country, and also to elect the new chairman of the

Council of Ministers. I will remind you that the SED faction in the People's Chamber has proposed the candidacy of Hans Modrow for this post.

E. Mueckenberger's request to be released from his duties as chairman of the SED faction in parliament was satisfied at a session of the faction. Politburo Member Werner Jarowinsky was elected to this post.

The telephone conversation between E. Krenz and H. Kohl touched on GDR-FRG cooperation in spheres such as the economy, environmental protection, transportation, mail, telegraph, and telephone communications, culture, and humanitarian issues. H. Kohl welcomed the decision adopted by the GDR on citizens' travel to the West. It is a question only of the first step in this direction, E. Krenz said. However, freedom of movement in no way means that the existing borders may be questioned. Stability in relations between the two German states remains a decisive precondition of stability on the European continent. Both leaders agreed in principle to hold a meeting.

Over the past 3 days more than 4 million GDR citizens have received visas for trips to the West, and 10,000 of them have emigrated there permanently. During these days many hundreds of thousands have been to the FRG and West Berlin. More and more new checkpoints are being opened on the border. The mighty, never-ending flow of visitors moving from East to West and in the opposite direction is the chief topic of radio and television broadcasts in the GDR, the FRG, and West Berlin. E. Krack, mayor of Berlin, and W. Momper, ruling mayor of West Berlin, met when a new checkpoint opened in the region of the Potsdamerplatz. Their historic handshake was recorded in the newspapers. In an interview with a VOLKSBLATT correspondent Momper warned hotheads against provocations on the border. He expressed regret at such actions against GDR border guards near the Brandenburg Gate.

Every day, every hour brings a report of the changes under way in the country. How do people perceive them, and what do they think of the processes taking place in the country?

I talked with Heinz Frankenberg, foreman at the 7 October Machine Tool Building Combine. He is over 50, has worked all his life as a fitter but has now transferred to the technical control department, he is not a party member but does, as a rule, participate in the SED's mass measures.

"I am experiencing unusual feelings, as though the framework within which I used to live has been opened wide," H. Frankenberg said. "Many workers at our combine attended the 4 November protest demonstration. With what demands? To adopt, at last, a law on foreign travel, to improve supplies, to limit the power of the bureaucratic apparatus, and to choose in general elections, not to vote. We dislike the planning system and the 'immobility' of the approved plan. Look how capitalist enterprises are able to respond quickly to market needs! We dislike the system of prices, too. Propaganda used to suggest that the state 'presents' us with subsidies on basic foodstuffs, clothing, rent, and wage rates. But the 'presents' are made up of what we ourselves produce. On the other hand, at what prices do they sell us electronic equipment and cars?"

"How did you rate the government's decision to permit free travel to the West?"

"It is a correct democratic decision. It should have been made many years ago. Then so many young people would not have left our country forever. Entry to the West used to be extremely limited. There were absurdities. In September my wife Lora was invited to the FRG by her elder sister for her 69th birthday. My wife was refused: According to the statute, she was permitted to travel only for a birthday with a round figure, that is, for a 70th birthday in this case."

"Have you traveled to the West during these days?"

"No I haven't, because of the scenes of confusion at the border. At some checkpoints the line of cars extended for tens of kilometers. There is no need to hurry. What do I fear in connection with the virtual opening of the border? Speculators might run amok. I well remember the time prior to 1961, when the Berlin wall did not yet exist. The shelves in our stores were almost empty because inexpensive foodstuffs, clothes, and footwear were being bought up and carted off to West Berlin. Now speculators will make use of the unjust exchange rate. I also fear that crime and prostitution will increase among us because of the opening of the border, that drug addiction will appear, and that the number of AIDS patients will increase, whereas today there are just isolated cases."

"These days Western politicians and propaganda have been endlessly repeating the idea of the unification of Germany. What do you think about this?"

"We have lived apart for too long in order to unite so simply. And how? Will the FRG and West Berlin abandon capitalism, or we abandon socialism, and will each abandon his own gains? We are accustomed to social protection and would not want to lose it. We are against capitalism, but we are for a socialism which will give us more freedom and democracy, free us from tutelage from above, put an end to corruption and privileges for the few, and enhance everyone's responsibility. Finally, we want to know the actual state of affairs in our own country and abroad, and our press has changed beyond recognition in recent weeks."

"Mass demonstrations and rallies are continuing, despite the fact that the country's leadership has already changed many things and, as can be seen, is resolutely inclined toward radical changes."

"Demonstrations are a strong political weapon, and much has been achieved with its help. They are continuing, and people evidently want to consolidate the success achieved. But I can see that some people would like to fish in troubled waters. There are no direct slogans against socialism, but you do come across ones which would lead to its weakening. What is important is that workers do not want to strike, and we realize that strikes will only worsen the situation, the already shaky economy will roll back, and the people's living standards will fall. This is why demonstrations are held exclusively on days off or after work. No one will reproach us for lacking awareness or political culture."

Border Opening 'Solely' GDR Decision

LD1411095989 East Berlin ADN in English 0800 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Paris (ADN)—The decision to open the borders of the GDR came solely from the GDR, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov has said.

Gerasimov told French television on Monday night that the GDR had not asked Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev "to give the green light". But Moscow, too, considered the new travel regulations a "correct decision", he added.

GDR Order on Border Procedures

PM1411123389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Order to GDR Border Troops"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 Nov—As Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense, stated Sunday in conversation with a GDR television commentator, an order has been issued to GDR border troops, soldiers, NCO's, and officers which lays down that they should do everything possible to help ensure the orderly and smooth operation of the new rules regulating access and entry procedures on the border between the GDR and the FRG and West Berlin. He also noted that border troops should make every effort to ensure that the universally recognized and fixed GDR state border is never violated by anyone and that no one be allowed to damage the border installations erected to that purpose. All this is to be accomplished without the use of firearms.

Wall Opening's Implications

PM1311150989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 89 p 3

["Our own correspondent" S. Maslov dispatch: "Man Walks Through the Wall"]

[Excerpt] West Berlin-Berlin—[Passage omitted] They say there is no subjunctive mood in history—it is futile to argue what would have been if only.... The night spent with the border open between the GDR and West Berlin is already history, albeit very recent history. But thousands of West Berliners and residents of the GDR capital have in effect spent 8 hours in this actual "if only" situation. As if the wall had not existed before. Nothing strange seemed to have happened. But what would happen if things go further? Even the enemies of the wall are talking openly about the serious problems that may arise if this happens. To my astonishment (based on prejudice, perhaps?), a West Berlin police chief, who—as instructed—did not give his name, discussed this topic in what seemed to be a sober, honest, and unbiased fashion:

"Imagine if East Berliners freely find jobs and come to work every day in West Berlin. That will exhaust the GDR economy. And it may even affect our unemployment figures to a considerable extent. Speculation and financial difficulties may undermine the GDR economy. West Berliners will begin to buy up things they like in East Berlin effectively for a song, food products above all. They will simply go there for 'lunch.' And the 'Eastern' beefsteak in a restaurant will cost them a tenth of the price of the 'Western,' although there is, of course, no substantial difference between the two. We will have considerable transportation problems if 'Trabants' from the GDR surge all at once onto our already overcrowded streets. And we also have to get accustomed to the smell of their exhaust fumes...."

This is, of course, the opinion of a man who decides nothing in this case. It is the GDR's sovereign right to determine how its state border should look. At this week's press conference in Berlin journalists asked Guenter Schabowski, newly-elected member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo, about the future of the Berlin Wall. As yet our side has given no answer to the question of its "transparency" and about the purpose of this reinforced GDR border, he stressed. Guenter Schabowski pointed out that the question must be examined in connection with other factors. In this case he was talking about the state of GDR-FRG relations. Of course, the determination of the FRG and NATO to take concrete steps in the disarmament sphere may have a positive effect on the debate on this question.

Discontent in GDR Rural Areas Described

90UI0102A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 3

[Report by S. Pomerantsev, correspondent of SELSKAYA ZHIZN: "The Reference Point—Renewal"]

[Text] Berlin—Even quite recently life in this industrious and disciplined country flowed quietly and in measured fashion, outwardly, at least, but this is not at all the case today. It is as if a fast current has brought to the surface man's latently accumulated energy and dissatisfaction and natural desire to live better, and for society, the aspiration to self-perfection.

One cannot keep up with the events, which are unusual for the GDR and which are at times searing in their newness. Party and state functionaries are literally exposing themselves to the fire of all questions from the working people,at times unpleasant ones. An ordinary worker plainly tells Egon Krenz, newly elected general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee, that on a number of points his television speech lacked specificity, and Krenz thanks him for his observation. Mass demonstrations are being held in various cities. An open letter to the city council has been read out in Rostock churches—the deputies are proposing that all citizens of the city discuss the problems troubling people. In Berlin the first secretary of the capital's SED district committee and the city's lord mayor meet the participants in an unsanctioned demonstration and join in direct debate. The Soviet journal SPUTNIK, which approximately a year ago was taken off the list of distributed publications for, as the post office reported at that time, "not having contributed to a strengthening of German-Soviet friendship but, on the contrary, having carried history-distorting articles," has been restored to subscribers. A spokesman for the GDR Ministry of Internal Affairs declared on television that it is open to any citizen who has left the republic to return to the homeland....

The exodus from the GDR of tens of thousands of citizens remains the subject of awkward debate. There's no denying, it has caused the country immense harm. And not only moral and political harm, but economically also. After all, for the most part, these have been young people, skilled workers, medical personnel and engineering-technical personnel. Why have they, as they say here, "turned their back" on their homeland?

Undoubtedly, some yielded to moodiness and enticement. Some had personal, family reasons. But there have also been among them those who were sincerely guided by simple, humanly understandable goals: working well in a well-organized industry and obtaining for this good money, openly expressing what was seething inside and being heard and really enjoying all the rights of citizens of a democratic state. It is merely a question of how successful they will be in realizing their aspirations in the West....

These are, after all, precisely the problems which are being raised currently both at demonstrations and mass meetings and at discussions in various public organizations and at meetings between the leadership of the party and the republic with the workforce. People are insisting on an end to wage-leveling in pay and on the optimum organization of production. They are expressing unhappiness with the deterioration in the situation on the consumer goods market and the reduced quality of a number of commodities and are advocating a rational export policy. They are demanding clarity on the question of the actions of the people's police during the demonstrations at the time of the celebration of the republic's anniversary. They support freedom of opinion and a realistic news policy.

Whereas, incidentally, even quite recently all was smooth and streamlined in the press and television programs, critical notes are now noticeably squeezing the former official style. The abnormality of a situation where GDR citizens learned about events in their own country from FRG television and radio programs was clearly visible against this background. The latter commented, of course, in their own way of thinking. Now the media are not glossing over what is happening in the republic, however serious. It is merely a pity that the central press, except for the peasant papers, contains very little material on the current concerns of the countryside: The harvesting is over, in the main, but the peasants are not going demonstrating.

This last, however, does not mean that they are far removed from the problems which are agitating society. I saw this for myself when visiting stockbreeders of the village of Weikwitsch in the Cottbus district.

"The border with the CSSR is not far from us," foreman Heide-Marie Titze said. "Many of my colleagues have taken advantage of the opportunity to travel for a day or two to the fraternal republic, the only one which we could visit without any formalities, simply showing our citizen's ID at the border. On account of the events at the GDR's Prague Embassy, even this opportunity has for the time being been closed to us. Was I personally intending making such a trip? What was important for me was not this but the very possibility in principle of overseas travel. And this does not apply just to Czechoslovakia. Everyone should be able to act as he sees fit, and people should not feel restricted in their rights and come up against constant 'no's'. There has been, if I may put it like this, a privileged stratum which could travel, but those who were 'downstairs' stayed put as if glued to the spot. sooner or later this had to have aroused people's discontent."

"We have long been disturbed at the way in which the facts were treated by the media," Camella Langkabel, a specialist and leader of a shift at an industrial-type dairy complex, joined the conversation. "We would not reach the plan indicators, everyone in the group knew this, but in the newspaper—overfulfillment percentages.... Whom did this serve? The cause can only be helped by candid discussion of the reasons for the true situation, not the embellishing of reality."

Differences in the living conditions of town and country are, seemingly, an eternal topic. Why, however, is it being discussed so keenly by rural inhabitants today? Truly, people constituting only one-tenth of the society which they provide with food to the point of complete self-sufficiency have earned the right to live at least no worse than the urban population.

"In practice living conditions in the countryside are inferior in many respects," Horst Paise, chairman of a cooperative, believes. "To take just housing construction. I believe that neither Erich Honecker nor anyone else in the leadership thought that one fine day the entire population of the republic would be inhabitants of Berlin. But if one looks at the scale and pace of the construction there, this is the absurd goal which has been pursued, seemingly. At the same time, however, our peasants are prepared to build accommodation for themselves and aspire to this, but their wishes are being killed off by a shortage of building materials."

The chairman, a good acquaintance of mine, and I spoke for a long time. And I reached the conclusion that this energetic person, who had in the past "dragged" the farm, relying on the workforce, from the mire of unprofitability, was irritated most by the barriers being put in the way of initiative.

How much time and effort he wasted in obtaining permission to import from Polish friends triticale seeds supplied free of charge and furnished with all papers of the quarantine service! He went not only to the district authorities but also to the ministry in Berlin. And when he had finally "extorted" the necessary form, the sowing deadline had already passed.... He had long been trying to persuade people that it is profitable neither to the cooperative nor the state when the dairy complex keeps more cows than can be provided with feed and showing that there would be no drop in output were he to cut back on the herd, but only now is this matter beginning to move from complete standstill.

And how many inspections of all possible kinds have to be passed! People sometimes come to inspect who have nothing in common with animal husbandry. In a word, it is once more a question of the command style of leadership, lack of trust....

Many such problems, large-scale and more modest, but troubling people, all the same, have built up, as the debate under way in the republic shows. Some of them demand immediate solution. Others cannot be solved all at once. It is for this reason that the SED has appealed to all the country's social forces for wide-ranging dialogue in order to map out jointly the ways out of the exacerbated situation and formulate balanced, profoundly considered solutions. One practical step is already being taken. It has been proposed that the Council of Ministers draw up a draft law on citizens' overseas travel. It is even to be submitted to the People's Chamber this year.

"We will learn to adopt a realistic approach to our successes and a candid approach to our contradictions," Egon Krenz emphasized in his statement following his election as chairman of the State Council. No, the GDR is no longer what it was even a month ago, and the renewal process is gaining momentum. A German journalist acquaintance of mine predicted a couple of years ago in a "confidential" conversation, as was customary at that time: "There will be changes in our country also, but we will implement them far more carefully and with fewer losses than you." Sincere friends of the GDR may wish it only success, adherence to principle and consistency on this path.

GDR Liberal Democrat Leader Interviewed

PM1211152389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 6

[Interview with Manfred Grund, deputy of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, by own correspondent V. Lapskiy: "GDR: Time of Change"—date not specified—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Berlin—The Secretariat of the Central Board of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], one of the five parties represented in the People's Chamber, has examined the current situation in the GDR. The Secretariat has instructed the Liberal Democratic group in the People's Chamber to propose to the latter's Presidium that a session be held immediately to discuss the situation in the country and demand the government's resignation. It has also recommended that Professor M. Gerlach, chairman of the LDPD, be nominated as candidate for the presidency of the People's Chamber. The Secretariat's statement says that it is forced to take this step from a sense of responsibility for the fate and well-being of the socialist GDR and its people.

Here is what Manfred Grund, an LDPD deputy and chairman of the "Mahlsdorf" Cooperative in Berlin, told our correspondent on this subject.

According to our constitution, M. Grund stated, the People's Chamber is the supreme organ of power in the country. But things have turned out differently in practice. The deputies' activity was reduced virtually to the solution of petty local problems within their own electoral district. As for parliament's political activity, there were serious obstacles to the performance of that. For example, so little time was allowed for the discussion of laws that we didn't even have the opportunity to examine them in depth or give them a comprehensive assessment. In spring of this year, deputies were unhappy at the passage through parliament of a draft law on the electoral rights of foreigners living in the GDR. We did not receive the text of the draft until the opening day of the session. Consequently a protest was made, including on behalf of our group. This incident reflected accurately the prevailing attitude to parliament. As you can see, it had nothing in common with democratic norms.

We are striving to make the People's Chamber the true mouthpiece of the people's will. No one—neither the Government nor the Party—has the right to interfere unconstitutionally in the work of Parliament or to try to impose anything on it or on individual deputies. Our party also opposes such interference, as Professor Gerlach, LDPD chairman, has stated on a number of occasions recently.

To be self-critical, I am bound to state that our parliament has essentially failed to react to the stream of GDR citizens leaving for the West. Unfortunately, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Government have also done virtually nothing during this crisis period. We parliamentary deputies drew our own serious conclusions from that fact. We support many of the demands that citizens are making at rallies and demonstrations—they are just demands. People are saying to us: We took to the streets to make our voice finally heard.

[Lapskiy] The participants in the demonstrations have been demanding, among other things, that the electoral system be improved—the municipal elections in May generated considerable criticism from voters. What can you tell us on that score?

[Grund] Fair elections are one of our party's demands. We have already submitted specific proposals. The next elections to the People's Chamber and the bezirk [area] councils are due to take place in 1991. We propose that the new law on elections include the nomination of several candidates—from different parties and social organizations—per seat. The votes should be counted in a new way—representatives of the public must be involved. In the past few days, some demonstrators have demanded that UN observers be present at our polling stations. We categorically oppose that.

[Lapskiy] Political parties, with the exception of the SED, have an equal number of seats in the People's Chamber. This seems to suggest that their significance and weight in society and in the GDR's political life is equivalent.

[Grund] This is not true, of course. To start with, the parties' numerical strength is not the same. And with respect to social structure, there are also obvious differences between the parties. Our party, the LDPD, which is founded on humanistic ideals, appeals to specific sections of the population—craftsmen, cooperative members, and the intelligentsia. I do not believe that the current distribution of seats will be maintained in the People's Chamber in the future. The parties and social organizations represented in the parliament will form a democratic bloc. I am convinced that its activities will become much more effective in the future.

[Lapskiy] The nomination of several candidates representing different parties obviously presupposes a political struggle.

[Grund] Quite so. This will be something new for us, but we are saying now that democracy is something that has to be learned. Political struggle is part and parcel of the democratic process. However, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the aims which this struggle will pursue. The main principle to which my party and I myself personally are committed is not to deviate from socialism by a single step. The disputes and heated debates which will flare up during the election campaigns, for instance, will be concerned with various spheres of the national economy and policy and the organizational structures. Each party will uphold its own viewpoint.

[Lapskiy] How do you assess the situation in the country today? What steps, in your opinion, will be taken in the near future?

[Grund] I currently feel 20 years younger. In 4 decades our country has not seen such an upsurge of political activity. Feelings have exploded into the open. It was bound to happen sooner or later. However, we are doing all we can to ensure that street rallies and demonstrations do not get out of control and take a democratic and peceful course. I am pleased that our people know exactly what they want, that they are openly putting forward their demands. I have no misgivings about the future. What do we expect from the next few days and months? Shortly, the law on GDR citizens' travel abroad will be passed. We favor the establishment of a government representative for public relations. The public must be constantly briefed on what the government is doing. We hope that such a post will be created. We support demands for amending the criminal code and trade legislation as soon as possible. The school system calls for substantial changes—people here are saying that pupils behave in one way at school and in a totally different way in the street and at home. It is necessary to eliminate dogmatism from the educational system. A key sphere which requires radical changes is the economy. We favor the nomination of the most capable individuals to leading posts at plants, combines, and cooperatives, irrespective of party affiliation. This will represent a step forward along the road which will lead our economy out of stagnation. Ultimately, M. Grund said in conclusion, the success of our entire cause will depend on the economy.

ADN Cited on Anti-Nuclear Physicians Criticism

LD0311204289 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR section of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) protests against recent nuclear blasts of the Soviet Union, France and the USA.

Such tests were threatening health and life of the population, the Presidium of the section said on Friday.

In compliance with the appeal of the 9th International IPPNW Congress in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the GDR section considered it its main task to enforce a nuclear test ban, it was said.

Slyunkov Departs Moscow for CEMA Meeting

LD0811182289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today left Moscow for Prague for the conference of Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal parties of the CEMA member countries on economic questions.

Arrives in Prague

LD0811213489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2003 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, 8 Nov (TASS)—N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has arrived in Prague. He will take part in the conference of central committee secretaries of the fraternal parties of the CEMA member countries on economic questions.

He was met at the airport by Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, and by other officials.

In the welcoming party was V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

Leaves Prague 10 Nov

LD1111100289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0235 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, 10 Nov (TASS)—N.N. Slyunkov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Prague today. He was accompanied to the airport by I. Knotek, secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, and other officials. Among those accompanying him was V.P. Lomakin, the USSR ambassador to Czechoslovkia.

Slyunkov, Poland's Rakowski Statements on Talks

AU0711150789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Nov 89 p 2

["Statements made to TRYBUNA LUDU" by Nikolay Slyunkov, CPSU Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR first secretary, following their meeting in Warsaw on 3 November]

[Text] Nikolay Slyunkov: "Our talks primarily concerned the expansion of interparty relations, which encompass a very broad range of topics, including socioeconomic problems. That is the sphere I deal with inside the CPSU Central Committee.

"Poland and the Soviet Union are very important partners in economic cooperation. The importance of trade can be illustrated by means of figures. About 10 percent of the USSR's foreign trade is with Poland, whereas the percentage of Poland's trade taken up by the Soviet Union is even greater—35-40 percent. We wish to expand these ties even further, basing them on sound market principles.

"The Soviet Union is profoundly interested in the Polish situation. We wish you success in development and overcoming the present crisis. We will also assist in overcoming the difficulties, within the limits of existing possibilities.

"Interparty relations are also changing in line with the transformations occurring in our countries. A new practice, favorable to both sides, is taking shape—the practice of close contacts and frank talks on major issues. My talks in Warsaw are a part of this tendency."

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Nikolay Slyunkov's visit is no courtesy call. It has to be viewed as a sign of closer ties between the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] and CPSU. During earlier talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, we agreed we would discuss everything important, including the economy. Even though the party has lost its authority in this sphere due to the recent changes, it has not ceased to be interested in the economy, as in every other sphere that is important from the point of view of the nation.

"We spent a lot of time discussing the work of the PZPR and its condition. We discussed the origins of the present changes to the socialist system in Poland and the Soviet Union. Nikolay Slyunkov is aware of the difficulties that have to be overcome in order to make perestroyka an example worthy of emulation. Altering old structures reveals conflicts—the new ones at present, and the old ones which went unnoticed for many years."

Rakowski Praises Polish-Soviet Friendship Society

PM1311164389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Warsaw Meeting"]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Sep—In connection with the approaching 45th anniversary of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, M. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, received the leadership of this mass social organization here Wednesday.

He gave a positive evaluation of new forms of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society's activity aimed at expanding cooperation with similar organizations in the USSR and developing direct contacts between people, particularly young people in both countries.

On the PZPR's behalf, M. Rakowski expressed support for the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society's new initiatives to broaden the society's participation in strengthening friendship between the people of the two countries.

Medvedev Meets Polish Party Official

LD1011151189 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—Vadim Medvedev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, met secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee [CC] Slawomir Wiatr today.

They held a substantive exchange of opinions on the deepening and perfection of cooperation between the two fraternal parties, in ideology primarily.

The Polish United Workers Party CC secretary is on a working visit to the Soviet Union.

Rogachev Receives Polish Deputy Ministers 9 Nov

PM1311145389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 9 November I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received J. Majewski, Polish deputy foreign minister, and J. Kaczuba, Polish deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation, who had stopped over in Moscow en route home from Tokyo.

PZPR Draft Rejects Democratic Centralism

PM1311114389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Poland—Documents for Congress"]

[Text] Poland is living through a crucial period in its history in which previous methods of socialist building have failed the test and a search has begun for new ways of developing the country, leading it out of the economic crisis, and restructuring the state in accordance with the principles of democracy, freedom, and social justice.

This notion is part of the draft "Theses for the Programmatic Declaration," published in the press today, which have been submitted for general party discussion by a resolution of the 16th Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, within the framework of preparation for the 11th Party Congress scheduled for 27 January of next year. The draft was drawn up by the central commission for preparation of the supreme party forum as one of the basic documents on the future of the PZPR in the radically changed conditions in Poland.

Sources of the PZPR's power and capabilities of restoring public confidence are being exhausted, the draft theses note. The time has come to create a new party of left-wing forces, based on the traditions of Polish socialist thought and using the experience and current reformist trends in the PZPR. We will not capitulate either in the face of the past, which gave the word "socialism" Stalinist overtones, or pressure from right-wing forces, it says. The new party, made up of Polish left-wing forces, will be able to return to socialism its meaning and significance.

There can be no socialism without society's approval. The only possible source of power is the people's will, expressed in the process of democratic elections. The theses express determination to protect the new democracy from advocates of a return to bureaucratic and autocratic methods of administration, and to speak out against any attempts to stifle democratic freedoms.

The international part of the document stresses that the alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union, based on equal and mutually beneficial state and economic relations, is an important factor in the country's security and development.

The new party of left-wing forces will represent the interests of the people who live by their own labor, and it will unite everyone who recognizes its program, regardless of their social position or outlook. At the same time, the theses state: The party rejects both democratic centralism—which has turned out to be an obstacle to open questing and to initiative from below—and also monitoring in intraparty life. However, in order to achieve the specified aims in a democratic and open way, organizational clarity and a capability for coordinated action are needed.

Alongside the draft theses, the newspapers also carry "Outlines of Model Party Statutes," which will also be the subject of discussion in the party. They have been drafted with an eye to the possibility of creating a new party of left-wing forces in Poland. However, the 11th PZPR Congress will have the final say on this matter. There is a number of elements contained in the outlines that are fundamentally different from the PZPR regulations currently in force. For example, it has been proposed to put into the statutes the idea of "party supporters," meaning the people who support party policy and vote for the party in parliamentary and local elections.

PZPR Party Congress Documents Published

LD0911155789 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw November 9 TASS—Poland is living through a crucial period of its history. Previous methods of socialist construction have failed to withstand the test. New ways are being sought to develop the country and overcome the economic crisis, to restructure the state in keeping with principles of democracy, freedom and social justice.

This idea is contained in the draft "Theses of a Programme Declaration" published here today. The draft was submitted for the party's discussion on decision of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. The draft is being prepared for the 11th Party Congress, scheduled for January 27. It is one of the key documents pertaining to the future of the Party under fundamentally new Polish condiditons.

The sources of the Party's strength are evaporating, as is the possibility of restoring public trust in it, the theses note. It is high time to set up a new party of left-wing forces, based on traditional Polish socialist thought, experience and the modern reformist trends in the Polish United Workers' Party. The draft discards democratic centralism.

The international chapter of the document stresses that Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union, based on equitable, mutually-advanatageous state and economic relations, is an important factor of the country's security and development.

In addition to the draft theses, the newspapers also carry "Outlines of Party Rules" which will also be discussed by the party as a whole. They were drawn up with a view towards setting up a new part of left-wing forces in Poland. However, only the 11th congress of the Polish United Workers Party has the right to decide this question.

PZPR Quest for Way Forward Viewed

PM0911092189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Quest for a New Model. The 16th Central Committee Plenum Is an Important Phase in the Preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress"]

[Text] Warsaw—"The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has had its day." That is a phrase often to be heard now in Poland, where heated debates are under way regarding the fate of the party which has ceased to be the leading party and is trying to find its niche in society and revive its prestige and influence. What will the new left-wing party's program be like? What will it reject and what will it take on board in order to gain an attractive image? People within the PZPR are pondering this.

The party Central Committee is being flooded with versions of program treatises in which their authors' totally untrammeled thought strives to escape from ingrained ideological and organizational stereotypes and smash the rigid doctrinal framework. The 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which took place 6 November, was an important phase in the preparations for the 11th party congress and engaged in analyzing this vigorous creative thought which was aroused by the drastic turnaround in the fate of people's Poland.

The collected ideas of the new left-wing party give an idea of the direction in which the quest is being pursued. The attitude toward Marxism-Leninism arouses the most argument, but most people share the opinion that this is not the only instrument but only one of many for understanding the world. At the same time acute condemnation of Stalinism and dissociation from its ideas and practice were common to all debaters. Party members adhere to the principle of a market economy as a factor rendering the national economy vigorous and rational but do not approve of mass privatization of national property. While deeming a multitude of forms and types of ownership to be productive, they were not, however, unanimous in defining the correlation between the public and private sectors. As for the question of the political system, the participants in the precongress debate share the same opinion on political pluralism, that is a multiparty system and parliamentary democracy, which presupposes that democratic elections and self-management—as the means for citizens to participate in society's affairs—are the only way to power.

It was noted at the plenum that great attention was paid in the course of the debate to questions of defining the party's social struggle, democratic centralism, the existence of parliamentary groups, and also where grassroots party organizations should be located—at their members' place of work or place of residence. The trend toward the creation of a socialist-type party is clearly emerging.

The PZPR Deputies' Club, which has become a marked phenomenon in the country's political life, has elaborated its own program. A modern party of democratic left-wing forces fighting for democratic socialism—that is how it defines itself. The party does not see its coming to power as an end in itself, only the voters' mandate can open the way.

It was said at the plenum that during these precongress months the PZPR aktiv has shown most concern for party unity. A split must be prevented. A difference of views clearly appeared at the plenum. But it is believed that it is precisely diversity of viewpoints and absence of like-mindedness that can be seen as a token of unity. The plenum formed a special commission which will generalize the lessons derived from the history of the PZPR.

The need for unity is a characteristic feature of the time, and M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, mentioned it in his speech at the plenum. He said that he not only supports party unity during the time remaining until the congress but will also do everything to ensure that a party united by concrete goals is formed after the 11th congress.

The plenum adopted the "Principles for Election of Delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress" and also the theses for the future party's draft program and statute, which will be discussed in a general party debate.

The 11th PZPR Congress will begin its work 27 January 1990.

PZPR Plenum Seeks 'New Identity'

PM0811121789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent V. Runov dispatch: "Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Plenum Held: Party in Search of Its Identity"]

[Text] Warsaw—No one yet knows what pages of the PZPR will be written anew and which will remain unchanged. Many dramatic events ending in a decisive break with outmoded blueprints and structures have been experienced. The party is in the process of restructuring, seeking a new identity in a rapidly changing situation, your TASS correspondent in Poland reports to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

The 16th plenum is over. The number itself is indicative of how often Central Committee members have assembled this year. Only in the crucial year of 1981 did they assemble even more frequently. This year has been a difficult one for the PZPR. It can be said with certainty that it has been a forward-looking year. The plenum confirmed the draft program documents submitted by the Central Commission for the 11th PZPR Congress, the basic provisions of the new statutes, and the principles for electing congress delegates.

Opening the plenum, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stated that the situation in the country is characterized by an increasingly unfavorable public mood. In this situation it is particularly important to draw up a bold and constructive program around which all the most staunch representatives of the movement of the left may unite.

The plenum was preceded by vast preparatory work in which hundreds of ordinary communists and entire primary party organizations participated. A number of commissions and working parties were set up to ensure the plenum's success. The group concerned with preparing a draft program and other very important documents worked the most energetically. It received a large amount of diverse material prepared by party clubs, political discussion societies, and even individual communists. Most of the drafts bore considerable similarity in terms of ideas. Virtually all of them contained the idea that the PZPR had exhausted itself in its present form. That is why it is necessary to create a new party which will unite all Polish forces of the left around a clear and precise platform and enable the positions lost in society to be regained.

It was stressed at the plenum that the ineffectiveness of the hitherto existing model of socialism was an idea current throughout the many versions of the program documents. The plenum advocated that communists should play an active part in drawing up the long-term economic program. The overwhelming majority of speeches expressed the idea that the transfer of the Polish economy to a market footing must continue. However, this process should proceed simultaneously with the strengthening of state structures. Most Central Committee members advocated the socialization of state property—that is to say, the transfer of national assets to specific owners in the shape of labor collectives, cooperatives, and public organizations. A sharp protest was made against all actions designed to eliminate working people's socialist gains.

The adopted draft program declaration, which has been submitted for discussion by primary organizations, says in particular that socialism in its present-day form has failed the test, being unable to sustain the development rates set by the most developed countries of the world. In these conditions, Polish forces of the left will do all they can to extricate the country from crisis. The objective of this new type of party will be to restructure the state in line with principles of democracy and social justice. The document says that the PZPR is a spent force and has no chance at all of regaining the forfeited public trust. It is time to organize a new party of forces of the Polish left which should be based upon the traditions of socialist thought and the experience of modern reformist currents.

The new party will represent the interests of people who live by the fruits of their own labor and unite all those who acknowledge its program irrespective of their social status or philosophy. It will not be built according to principles of democratic centralism; however, as the document notes, it is essential to clearly and precisely define the means whereby the organizational system and unity will be achieved in the process of meeting the set goals.

"The party is now more active than 1 or 2 months ago," M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, told journalists when conversing with them during a short recess at the plenum. "Party organizations are now talking more about the future than about the past and previous blunders and mistakes. But we are still carrying ballast, a considerable number of party members are inactive. There are also centrifugal tendencies and those who would like to abandon completely the quintessence of the PZPR.

"But, nevertheless," Rakowski stated, "the conviction is growing stronger that the renewed party will remain a mass organization expressing the interests and aspirations of working people and, above all, the working class.

Issues Facing 'Crucial' PZPR Congress Noted

PM0911133989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Nov 89 Second Edition p5

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin report under the rubric "Socialist Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "Toward a New Party?"]

[Text] Warsaw—The 16th Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Central Committee Plenum has been held in Warsaw. Before the plenum began work, it was noted that there was a "personal" journalist for every one of the Central Committee members present. The plenum had drawn the heightened attention of the Polish and foreign press as never before.

Opening the sitting, M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, presented to those present the seven newly elected first secretaries of voivodship party committees. This was an event in itself.

The 16th plenum has been instantly christened "the last"—or, on the basis of more cautious opinion—"one of the last" before the 11th party congress, which will open on 27 January 1990. Three issues are on the agenda, of which preliminary drafts have been prepared by the central congress commission: the draft program declaration, the basic principles of the new rules, and the principles for electing delegates to the congress. The 300-member commission was set up a month ago at the last plenum, and from its first day of existence has worked intensively on the agenda for today's plenum. This was no easy task.

Suffice it to recall that during partywide discussion some 70 proposals have been made for a new party name alone! There are several preliminary programs and political platforms. No, the PZPR has not divided forever into different groupings that have long existed and are distinguished by their different political thrust—today's platforms are not so fundamentally different from one another and have more features in common: a course aiming to democratize social relations, renounce the diktat of central directives, and ensure the party's ability to work fruitfully in conditions of political pluralism and parliamentary democracy, in close collaboration with all creative forces in Polish society.

Observance of these basic conditions must, of course, result in increased trust in the party by the people and must underpin and strengthen its positions, notably by attracting new, active supporters and an influx of new, young members.

So, what is the mood in the party on the eve of the congress? It is possibly one of general conviction (confirmed by the recent plenum) that they must enter the party congress as a united force, not allowing any split. At the same time, most communists believe that the party in its present form has outlived its time and that it must primarily think about rallying and uniting left-wing forces and becoming the party of those loyal to socialist ideals, a party based on Marxist teaching, although tactical differences in the platforms of individual groups may remain. Discussion of the draft program in the time left before the congress will also clarify a very important question: whether the PZPR will cease to exist at the congress and emerge afterward in the form of a new party, or whether it will undergo a fundamental transformation on the basis of proposals and observations.

As far as the election of congress delegates is concerned, it follows from the precongress discussion that, on the basis of the plenum decision, this must be done by direct ballot, with the direct participation of all lower organizations. The forthcoming congress must consider the opinion of a far greater number of party members than ever before.

So, will it be a regular PZPR congress that is held in January or the first congress of a new party of united left-wing forces? Either way, it will be a crucial event in the history of Poland's communist and workers movement. Despite the vast mass of assessments and predictions regarding the future of the PZPR and its role in the people's life and in state transformations, it is possible, however, to draw a general conclusion: The reform within the party is geared wholly to improving its ideological program, and organizational principles. The ultimate aim of this work is to restore the party's prestige and ensure its leading role in society.

PZPR Urges Journalists To Show Restraint

90UI0110A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Nov 89 p 4

[Text] Warsaw, 4 November (TASS)—The need for the unification of all public forces for the gradual solution of Poland's most important problems was emphasized in a statement adopted on Friday [3 November] by the Information Policy Commission of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Central Committee. Only on the basis of truth is it possible to build a new, democratic order in the state and cultivate in the youth a feeling of respect for Poland, its past, and the most important humanitarian and patriotic currents, the document says.

The statement contains an appeal to all commentators to refrain from cheap sensationalism, the excitement of emotions, and the packaging of facts within outlines determined in advance. We are opposed to advocacy activity geared just to creating an effect or, even worse, a new split among people and the kindling of hostility, mistrust, and intolerance, it emphasizes.

The PZPR, the statement points out, consistently advocates information openness, for without it democracy cannot develop. For this reason, the commission is opposed to all attempts to limit the access of journalists and, through them, the population to information concerning all affairs of state. It expresses concern also in connection with the increasingly numerous instances of the selective use of information and one-sided commentary thereon, which is of the nature of manipulation. Publications' and journalists' political character must not be an obstacle to the presentation of the viewpoints and views of all significant political forces in the country. A genuine, and not spurious, pluralism of views, positions, and opinions should find expression in the polemic, including in the press.

The PZPR Central Committee commission emphasizes that it cannot agree with those who are calling for administrative purges in the journalism sphere. The expulsion of journalists for their political views would be a repetition of the now universally condemned practice of the past, with which the PZPR has parted irreversibly. A political roundup of journalists and editors in the guise of concern for their moral purity and the professionalism of the media would lead directly to a perpetuation of the harmful division in the journalistic environment.

The document contains an appeal to editorial groups and journalists who are members of the PZPR to join actively in the preparations for the 11th party congress and to treat their profession as social service for the good of the country.

PRON To Disband in View of Polish Changes

PM1311165189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Decision Adopted"]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Nov—The National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]—a mass sociopolitical organization set up in July 1982 and uniting various forces guided by the idea of national consensus—has decided to wind up its activity. Speaking at the latest PRON session here, General Secretary S. Ciosek stressed that, assessing its activity from the standpoint of the past few years, it can be said that the movement has played a considerable role in all the positive changes which have occurred in Poland and in setting up new democratic institutions. At the PRON's initiative the institution of human rights ombudsman has been set up and a law adopted on social consultations and referendums. The movement actively strove for suffrage changes, the adoption of a new law on associations, and reform of criminal legislation. The PRON fullfilled a historic role, becoming a bridge between the years of conflict and the present day, the speaker noted.

A letter from Polish President W. Jaruzelski to the members of the PRON National Council was read out at the session. For 7 years you have pooled your efforts to meet the urgent need for consensus and national rebirth and to develop democracy in the republic, it states. The movement's services in building social peace, bringing people with various approaches and views closer together, and producing initiatives and actions for the good of Poland have been invaluable. These efforts have borne fruit in the political, civil, moral, and material spheres which deserve sincere gratitude and correspond to society's vital interests. You are completely entitled to feel satisfied about your achievements and to enjoy the sense of having properly performed your duty to the Motherland, the president stressed.

During the discussion the PRON National Council members advocated winding up the activity of the movement in its present structure and form.

The adopted resolution points out that over the past few months there has been a sharp acceleration in the process of change in the country. New institutions of sociopolitical life have been set up. The main role in running the state is played by the parliament, the president, and the government, in which representatives of the main forces represented in the Sejm participate. An opportunity has been gained for broader consensus on the basis of the state than within the PRON. In this situation, the PRON National Council believes that it has carried out its role and resolves to end its activity. It has instructed PRON units and councils to examine the question of the expediency of continuing their activity and to make a corresponding decision.

Soviet Graves in Poland Desecrated

PM1311132589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Act of Vandalism"]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Nov—The voivodship newspaper GLOS WYBRZEZE published in Gdansk has reported a scandalous act of vandalism that took place 7 November at the Soviet military cemetery in the city of Elblag. That day 21 memorials were destroyed and the headstones on the soldiers' graves were overturned. Unknown persons damaged the main monument at the cemetery and scattered flowers laid at its foot to mark the 72d anniversary of Great October.

The incident, GLOS WYBRZEZE writes, is an example of thoughtlessness and vandalism which violates the peace of the dead. This case has aroused the indignation of many of the city's inhabitants.

CSSR Leader Cited on Nature of Perestroyka

PM1311214389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "'Confident of the Chosen Path.' Speech by M. Jakes"]

[Text] Prague, 13 Nov—The meaning of perestroyka is to advance socialist society to a qualitatively new stage of development, to reveal the advantages and potential of socialism, which ought to serve the satisfaction of people's needs, M. Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, has declared. He was addressing the national conference of the CSSR Socialist Youth Union, which has ended here.

We are confident of the correctness of our chosen path, the speaker noted. Perestroyka is not, as some critics at home and abroad believe, a sign of socialism's collapse. On the contrary, it is proof of socialism's viability, of its ability to overcome everything that is obsolete and that slows down socialist society's onward advance.

Under the inspiring influence of the Soviet Union and its Leninist party, which was the first to realize the need for a critical look at socialism's development, we have started pondering with utmost responsibility the causes of the slowdown in the Czechoslovak economy's pace of development in the late seventies. It emerged that these causes are not only objective but also subjective. Society showed typical signs of stagnation, words diverged from action, and we succumbed to complacency. This is why the CPCZ put forward the perestroyka program.

This is a complex and contradictory process. It is being implemented on the solid foundations laid during the years of socialism. The National Front provides us with a sound political system, and there is nothing to prevent its full revelation on democratic principles. We are in favor of open and honest dialogue with all who wish to pool their efforts within the framework of the constitution for constructive work in the interests of the country's further socialist development. It must be borne in mind that the opinions being expressed may be contradictory and arguable, but at the same time we must be clear on one point: The dialogue cannot be conducted either anonymously or by organizing demonstrations whose objective is to whip up tension in society, breach public order, and retreat from the socialist path beneath slogans for "democratization."

We shall not allow any trampling of socialism's values or of previous generations' actions; what is necessary now is to consistently cleanse the socialist economic and political system of everything that slows down its dynamic development, M. Jakes emphasized.

Prague TV Interviews TASS Director on Glasnost

LD0911225989 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Studio interview with TASS Director General Leonid Kravchenko by unidentified correspondent on 9 November; Kravchenko speaks in Russian with superimposed Czech translation—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] It is possible to say that we are cooperating daily with your agency. We often speak about glasnost. How is glasnost reflected in your agency's work?

[Kravchenko] Similar to all other mass media, TASS is also doing a lot for the development of glasnost and democratization in our country. Our huge work collective, where over 8,000 people are employed, is also looking for new and more democratic forms. To put it briefly, as television requires, we also want to be more democratic and in effect not to differ from our central press, our central mass media, regarding the fact that we will be concerned with all aspects of our life and write about it openly and with self-criticism, and analyze honestly all processes underway in our society.

Nevertheless, we are striving to adopt a more constructive stand in order to point out those things which have already been sucessfully achieved in the course of restructuring. One more thing: We strive to give to every TASS journalist the right of signature, a right to be recognized, a right to sign one's own articles and have an opinion.

[Reporter] In the context of restructuring, very complicated processes are underway in all socialist countries. What tasks does your agency have in informing about these events?

[Kravchenko] The principle task, above all, is to inform in an operative way, inform truthfully about what is happening, and at the same time to help in the study of mutual experiences.

In my view, our mass media and a number of newspapers unjustly pay little attention to experiences from socialist countries. We also have to inform socialist countries about our experiences, including your television.

Growth in MSZP Membership Slows

PM0711110989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by S. Ivanov: "Hungary: Hungarian Socialist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, And Others..."]

[Text] Budapest—Yesterday, in an interview for the paper NEPSZABADSAG, Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Chairman R. Nyers said that the formation of the new party is proceeding more slowly than he would like. The poor growth of party ranks, according to R. Nyers, was mainly due to the Hungarian National Assembly's decision to dissolve party organizations at enterprises and inadequate organizational work by the MSZP leadership. But the leader of the Hungarian Socialists is confident that the membership of the MSZP will increase considerably in time.

It is nearly a month since supporters of radical reforms initiated the creation of a new type of left-wing party—the MSZP—at the extraordinary congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], in an atmosphere of fervent argument and debate. But contrary to the original forecasts that the majority of members of the former MSZMP would join the new party, your TASS correspondent in Budapest reported to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office, the process of the MSZP's formation has turned out to be much more complex and slower.

The MSZP leaders have now decided to extend the period for carrying out organizational measures until the end of the year. For so far only 15,000 people have joined the new party, although 80,000 or at least 50,000 people had been expected to join.

This is put down to the complex political situation in Hungary. The so-called "silent majority" of former MSZMP members remains silent. No doubt they want to decide for themselves which of the new political organizations can lead the country along the correct path, whose program is the most realistic and attractive, and, finally, whose is the most reasonable.

Because in the weeks since the congress the creation of at least two groups calling themselves communist parties, and also two "MSZMP's" simultaneously staking a claim to the revolutionary traditions of the old MSZMP have already been announced. The nature and mass base of these emerging movements cannot be clearly described as yet, although one of the "MSZMP's," set up on the basis of the old "United Marxist Platform" movement, has announced that it has 120,000 members. The membership was calculated on the basis of telegrams, letters, and telephone calls from collectives and individuals. The recent meeting of the organization's aktiv showed that it favors cooperation with the MSZP, the other "MSZMP," and the remaining left-wing groupings. In short, it is all too vague. But one cannot rule out the possibility of the emergence in the country of a party that will say that it is the true heir of the MSZMP.

Increased opposition activity is another factor that is having an adverse effect on the process of the MSZP's formation. The organizations united by this concept are highly heterogeneous, but many of them, such as, for example, the Hungarian Democratic Forum or the Union of Free Democrats, are not only popular because of their former opposition to the MSZMP, but also have substantial authority as a result of their recent elaboration of a number of interesting economic proposals and political programs.

Describing the situation in and around the MSZP, Bela Fabri, member of the MSZP Presidium and leader of the People's Democratic Platform, said at a recent press conference that the rumors about the collapse of the MSZP are false. He expressed confidence that its membership will exceed 100,000 and that the MSZP will be a true party of the masses. Describing the composition and the trends in the MSZP, B. Fabri noted that in addition to the People's Democratic Platform and the Union of Supporters of Reforms, a left-wing socialist platform has begun to be set up within the party. According to him, there is also an intention to create a radical platform. He went on to say that the MSZP is the natural successor to the MSZMP. But it may be, he said, that a new left-wing party will be created with a bigger membership than the MSZP's. Although this cannot mean that it has the right of succession. B. Fabri also announced that so far the following members of the Hungarian Government have registered in the party: Council of Ministers Chairman M. Nemeth, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, and Foreign Minister G. Horn.

There has been a varied reaction among veterans of the old MSZMP to the measures that are being implemented by the MSZP. For example, at a wreath-laying ceremony in Budapest the other day at the memorial to those who perished in 1956, the words of the person speaking on behalf of the MSZP about the "1956 national uprising" prompted protests from many people attending the meeting. And when it was announced that wreaths were being laid at the foot of the memorial by representatives of the MSZMP, red flags were raised aloft, above the crowd, applause broke out, and people called out: "Glasnost for the MSZMP," "Equal opportunities for the MSZMP."

But it is too early for forecasts. There are going to be presidential and parliamentary elections, which will show the real breakdown of political forces in the country and the role and influence of the parties and movements currently taking shape.

Trials, Continuing Unrest in SFRY Viewed

PM0811124789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch: "Yugoslavia: Stones Instead of Arguments"]

[Text] Belgrade—As reported earlier in IZVESTIYA (No 305), the trial of former provincial political and economic leaders charged with counterrevolutionary activities endangering the SFRY social structure has opened in the Kosovo Autonomous Province. The 15 defendants include Azem Vlasi, the former leader of the Kosovo Communists.

They have all been charged by the district prosecutor with various antistate actions, including the organization of strikes, demonstrations against the unity of the country, and support for nationalists and separatists. However, the trial which opened at 1000 hours in the building of the district court at Titova Mitrovica was adjourned 4 hours later.

All the accused and their numerous defense counsels expressed lack of confidence in the court and demanded that the president of the court, the district prosecutor, and the president and all the members of the Kosovo Supreme Court and also the province prosecutor not be allowed to take part in the trial. Azem Vlasi demanded that the trial be held on "neutral territory" in Bosnia Hercegovina, Croatia, or Slovenia. He declared that the present leadership of Serbia and the autonomous province "are flouting the principles of democracy and human rights." Vlasi spoke in the courtroom partly in Serbo-Croatian and partly in Albanian (the trial is being conducted in Albanian). Rejecting all accusations, he claimed that "the organization of this political trial amounts to a demonstrative exertion of pressure on all the Albanians living on the territory of Kosovo." The defense counsels unanimously supported his demands.

In connection with the declared protests of the defense and the accused, members of the court and its president, Ismet Emre, decided to adjorn the hearing of this criminal case. The appropriate legal authorities of the autonomous province are to announce their conclusion regarding the continuation of the trial within the next few days.

Meanwhile the "4 hours of legal proceedings" at Titova Mitrovica have evoked great repercussions not only in the autonomous province but also beyond. Many mass media in Slovenia and Croatia do not regard the trial in Kosovo as a criminal case. They claim that the activities of Vlasi and the other defendants were not criminal offenses, that the people are being tried for their political persuasions, and that they should be acquitted. Such viewpoints are being expressed not only by certain press organs but also by public figures, prominent politicians, deputies, and even certain members of the SFRY Presidency. Cables and resolutions addressed to the Yugoslav leaders are requesting that the trial in Kosovo should not be resumed and that Vlasi and the other defendants should be acquitted.

This question has just been discussed at a session of the SFRY Presidency. A vote was held, and the proposal to free Azem Vlasi of legal liability was rejected by a majority of votes.

It is necessary to mention that in Yugoslavia, as in many other countries, actions threatening the integrity and sovereignty of the country are punishable under criminal law. In this case, in the dock are formerly prestigious leaders who blame their arrest on interethnic strife, a desire to humiliate one people in the eyes of another; and they deny that attempts to undermine the foundations of the state were part of their actions. "Champions of human rights and freedoms" and of pluralism of opinions are currently staging demonstrations in various Yugoslav cities and villages.

And those who do not like the socialist system and who have long been dreaming about the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation and the division of the country into individual "sovereign parts" are also exploiting the situation. IZVESTIYA reported the strike at the Stari Trg ore mine in Kosovo which began 27 October. At the end of their shift, 62 people at this mine refused to come to the surface and demanded that A. Vlasi be released without delay. Shortly afterward, it became obvious that these miners were led by a small group of provocateurs. Rejecting negotiations, they threatened that if their demands were not met, they would let off explosives on a neighboring hillside. On the day of the opening of the trial, representatives of the miners' collective and the militia succeeded (allow me to emphasize—without the use of force) in ending the underground strike and bringing its participants to the surface. Fortunately, the "champions of pluralism" did not manage to use the explosives.

Some other "champions of human rights" have decided to use stones rather than explosives to "defend democracy." According to the newspaper BORBA, an ambush was organized in one of the districts and a tourist bus came under a hail of stones on the Nis-Belgrade highway. Buses with Belgrade numbers were also stoned in various parts of Kosovo. There were again attempts to organize marches in Pristina, the capital of the autonomous province, and the cities of Urosevac, Podujevo, and others. In some places separatists put up barricades in the streets. In Podujevo a frenzied mob surrounded a group of foreign correspondents and threatened them with physical reprisals. With difficulty the journalists managed to break away and save themselves by fleeing in a car.

According to the local press, the most widely used separatist slogans are: "Kosovo—a republic!" "A constitution for the republic—by hook or by crook!" "Free Azem!" Public security and militia forces were forced to resort to appropriate measures to restore order in the streets of certain cities.

More on Mladenov BCP Plenum Speech

PM1311155389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "P. Mladenov's Speech"]

[Text] Sofia, 11 Nov—The world of socialism, of which Bulgaria is also part, is now in a qualitatively new state. A profound perestroyka is taking place in all spheres of social life in the majority of the fraternal countries. The processes in question are complex, far from straightforward, and by no means always predictable. But there is no alternative to perestroyka. This was said by P. Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Central Committee [BCP] Central Committee, when delivering the closing address at a BCP Central Committee plenum held here.

When pondering the future of socialism in Bulgaria, he said, we rightly set ourselves qualitatively new tasks and outlined ways to resolve the problems. But we overlooked the fact that the administrative and management system which has existed for decades not only would not help us but would also prove absolutely unsuitable and act as a brake. We failed to realize in time that qualitatively new tasks presuppose qualitatively new approaches and operating mechanisms, and we relied on familiar scenarios and schemes which had been tried before. This explains why perestroyka has not yet managed to achieve the desired breakthrough, why the economy is experiencing serious difficulties, and why a number of bold and original ideas relating to transformations were largely discredited.

Essentially, many complex problems have accumulated in literally all spheres of life. We shall discuss all this openly and honestly with the party and the people. There is no other way. I am sure that people will understand us and will actively participate in the search for a solution to these difficult problems. In this connection, the Politburo considers it right to convene a special Central Committee plenum in the near future to discuss the state of the country in depth and elaborate a detailed program for the activation and dynamization of the perestroyka processes.

The main thing to begin with is to focus attention on the individual and his well-being and how to increase it. This means that it is necessary to build political relations on a new basis and that there must be a real transfer of power to the people. The problem of transforming Bulgaria into a modern democratic and law-governed state faces us in all its importance and urgency.

We should not feel confused, even less afraid, that during the search for the right solutions there may and probably will be a pluralism of opinions. It is necessary to clearly demarcate the functions of the party and the state as quickly as possible. The BCP will continue to be the vanguard and leading force in society. It must find the correct stance and right tone in the new and unique conditions.

The main and decisive condition for the accelerated and harmonious development of our society is the perestroyka of the nation's economic life. We face the urgent need to adapt the economy in an exceptionally short time to the new realities which are now typical of both the world economy and the situation in the socialist economic community.

No undertaking can hope for success if it does not enjoy the support of the people and if they are not involved in its implementation. Our country's domestic and foreign policy draws and will continue to draw its strength from the unity of the Bulgarian nation, which is firmly based on labor and moral virtues and the knowledge and ability of the working class, rural workers, and the intelligentsia. As we move along the path of perestroyka we count on the active participation in that process of our allies from the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, members of the Fatherland Front, the Communist Youth Union and young people, members of the trade unions, women, and all Bulgarian citizens.

The results of perestroyka, of course, will also be reflected in the sphere of foreign relations. We sincerely support the new initiatives aimed at eliminating the nuclear threat and the threat of war in general. We rate highly the results of the USSR-U.S. and East-West dialogue aimed at overcoming confrontation and building a world free of violence. The priority of Bulgarian foreign policy is close cooperation with the other socialist countries. The profound transformations in the Soviet Union, the generator of the new political thinking and of new approaches in international relations, are of fundamental significance for us. Our country will continue to be a firm link in the socialist community and will work actively for the purpose of asserting the role and authority of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. Bulgaria will continue to make consistent efforts to improve the climate in the Balkans and achieve the lasting and just settlement of conflicts in various parts of the world.

The BCP, as the product of the Bulgarian people with deep roots in our nation's history, P. Mladenov stressed in conclusion, bears a tremendous responsibility for the successes of perestroyka. We have accepted that responsibility and will proceed steadfastly along the chosen path together with the people and on behalf of the people.

Reporter Sees 'New Stage' Beginning in Bulgaria

LD1211155689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Viktor Samoylin report from Bulgaria]

[Text] For the first time in Bulgaria's practice of informing the population about plenums of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, not a roundup or a final communique has been published, but a most detailed and, one might say, a stenographical report on all that happened on 10 November when the BCP Central Committee accepted the resignation of Todor Zhivkov and elected 53-year-old Petur Mladenov, previously Bulgaria's foreign minister, as its general secretary. The Central Committee members' speeches and information about the course and the results of the voting, the concluding speech of the new leader of the Bulgarian communists, and the very atmosphere of the plenum—a democratic, calm, and optimistic one—all this has become subject to broad glasnost.

And the first thing is the idea that a new stage of renewing transformations is beginning in Bulgaria, that the glasnost, truth, and accountability of the party before the people which have been returned to our society by perestroyka promise to be the standard from now on for the Bulgarian public as well.

Participants in the plenum said directly that without glasnost and without constant consultation with the people and without every person feeling that he is a personality in the cause of restructuring, the potential of socialism cannot be furthered. Petur Mladenov stressed in his concluding speech that there is no alternative and remarked: We were unable to understand promptly that the qualitatively new tasks also imply qualitatively new approaches and mechanisms of action, and we relied on scenarios which were already familiar and on plans which were tested previously. Precisely here lie the answers to the questions of why up to now perestroyka has been unable to achieve the long-awaited breakthrough in our country. Why is the economy experiencing serious difficulties? And why have a number of bold and original ideas about transformations proved largely to be discredited?

Of course, one should not assume that all problems will now be resolved immediately. But the fact that they will be tackled in a creative search, with a comparison of opinions, and with a genuine desire to achieve the earliest possible results is not in doubt.

West Europe

Shevardnadze, Dumas Hold Talks 14 Nov

LD1411105489 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—By TASS Diplomatic Correspondent:

Soviet-French talks started here today between Foreign Ministers Eduard Shevardnadze and Roland Dumas, who arrived in Moscow last night for an official visit at the invitation of the USSR government.

The talks were preceded by a tete-a-tete of the two ministers. But they were literally "stormed" by journalists before that. An impromptu press conference was held.

Asked whether the East European countries were ahead of the Soviet Union in their reforms, Eduard Shevardnadze said that that did not matter. The important thing is that these reforms pursue the common task of democratising state, political and public life. He recalled that the Soviet Union was the first to embark upon the road of revolutionary transformations.

It is expected that the current meeting between the two ministers, the twentieth in the past 12 odd months, will discuss the fulfilment of the agreements signed during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to France this July, the development of the European process, the events in Central Europe, particularly relations between the FRG and the GDR, problems of disarmament, etc.

Roland Dumas is expected to meet Mikhail Gorbachev today afternoon.

The French guest laid a wreath today on the tomb of the unknown soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

PCF, PCI Officials at PRAVDA Office

PM1311134589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Unattributed report: "Meetings at the Editorial Office"]

[Text] G. Plissonnier, member of the Politburo and secretary of the French Communist Party [PCF] Central Committee, had a meeting 9 November at the PRAVDA editorial office,

Questions of PCF-CPSU interparty ties and the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union were discussed during the comradely conversation.

On the same day there was a meeting with a group of circulation executives from the Italian Communist Party [PCI] newspaper L'UNITA, headed by E. Ferraris, deputy chief of the PCI Organizational Party Work Department, who are guests of the editorial office. The Italian comrades talked about Communist Party activists' work to circulate the newspaper and shared their impressions of their stay in the Soviet Union.

CPSU Delegation Leaves for Visit With PCF

LD1211134389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1031 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 November. (TASS)—Today a CPSU delegation headed by Albert Belyayev, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and editor-in-chief of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, left Moscow for Paris within the framework of interparty links between the CPSU and the French Communist Party [PCF].

Lukyanov Meets With FRG, French Ambassadors

LD0911095789 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—The forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union of leaders of the West German and French Parliaments were discussed during a meeting between Soviet First Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov, West German Ambassador Klaus Blech and French Ambassador Jean-Marie Merillon.

"The unprecedented joint visit of the Bundestag Chairman Rita Suessmuth and President of the French National Assembly Laurent Fabius is awaited with great interest in the Soviet Union," Lukyanov said.

He expressed hope that the visit would be a new important step towards a common European home, noting that it would help to emphasize the proximity of the positions of the three nations on a whole number of questions, and strengthen relations between their parliaments.

The ambassadors informed Lukyanov that Rita Suessmuth and Laurent Fabius believed their visit would be a concrete contribution to the all-European process. In their opinion, the diplomats noted, the first joint visit to Moscow of parliamentary leaders from two Western states was intended to demonstrate West German-French unanimity on changes in the Soviet Union.

Impact of GDR Changes on NATO Viewed

LD1011233389 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] The events now taking place in the German Democratic Republic are in the focus of public attention around the world. Along with political reforms, the country's new leadership plans to increase trade with both East and West European countries and stressed that it is especially interested in large joint energy and chemical projects with West Germany. While citizens from the GDR have a broader opportunity to visit West Germany, both Western economic and military alliances—the European Community and NATO—are now anxious about the consequences of perestroyka in the German Democratic Republic. Yuriy Minayev of our staff looks at the problem:

[Minayev] NATO's first secretary general, Britain's Lord Ismay, once said NATO had been founded to keep the United States in, the Soviet Union out and Germany down. Times have changed so that now NATO might find itself fighting to keep West Germany in.

There are two sovereign German states now, and the question raised by Western mass media currently is whether the reunification of the two Germanies is possible in future. It is, of course, for the two states and their people to take decisions. To my mind it is unrealistic to talk about reunification as long as there are two military alliances dividing Europe and even the world.

The new leadership of the GDR has confirmed that the country will honor its international obligations. Meanwhile, the Warsaw Treaty Organization has already called for disbanding the two military blocks simultaneously, but the NATO leadership rejected the idea and said it regarded West Germany as an important part of the NATO alliance.

But another question is: Can NATO, with its military programs still geared to the possibility of a sudden Soviet invasion—that even its Secretary-General Manfred Woerner now discounts—make the metamorphosis into a political alliance? Or even more, disband itself on the basis of reciprocity with the Warsaw Treaty? The answer to these questions will greatly influence not only the European, but the international scene.

It looks like the NATO leadership is so far not ready to go that far. On the other hand, the European Economic Community is seriously anxious about the reforms now taking place in the German Democratic Republic too. There are fears that these changes could distract Bonn's attention from the EEC's immediate priority, completing its barrier-free single market by the year 1992.

Moreover, the European Commission President, Jacques Delors, has already made clear he wants the EEC to counterbalance the reforms in the GDR by pressing ahead faster with further West European integration. By this, Mr Delors would like to firmly anchor West Gemany to the Eurpean Community. At the same time, the French prime minister, Michel Rocard, warned the EEC against establishing new economic ties with the GDR. The deputy director of the French Institute for International Relations said what is happening is both a chance and a risk for Europe at the same time. So it only remains to be seen which of the two will there be more of for the West.

TASS Reportage on Nikitin's Austrian Visit

Meeting With Vranitzky

LD0911210589 Moscow TASS in English 2045 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna November 9 TASS—Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky received today Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Vladilen Nikitin, who is currently on an official visit to Austria.

During a business-like and constructive meeting the sides discussed prospects for the development of Soviet-Austrian relations.

Vranitzky expressed his interest in Soviet perestroyka. Noting its huge international significance, the chancellor stressed that perestroyka contributes to the improvement of relations between the East and the West.

The participants in the meeting agreed that the opposition between the East and the West and non-recognition of two major economic groupings is now being replaced by the creative process of building a common European home.

They spoke in favour of the expansion of multi-faceted contacts between the Soviet Union and Austria and the deepening of bilateral economic cooperation, including that in agriculture.

Agricultural Agreement

LD1211222189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna, 12 Nov (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov reports:

Guided by an aspiration to develop bilateral relations, the Soviet Union and Austria intend to expand cooperation in the sphere of agriculture. This is stipulated by an agreement signed today in the course of an official visit to the alpine republic made by a Soviet delegation led by Vladilen Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

According to the document, the sides will promote the development of interaction in the sphere of agrarian research between their scientific research organizations. Cooperation will be implemented by means of joint scientific developments, experiments, the organization of cooperative production, and the creation of joint enterprises. The principal spheres for cooperation include plant-growing, horticulture, viniculture, livestock-breeding, biotechnology, the mechanization and automation of agricultural production, and the protection of natural resources and soil.

During the ceremony where the agreement was signed, Franz Fischler, minister of agriculture and forestry of Austria, expressed conviction that economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and Austria will continue to increase.

Swedish Foreign Minister Visit Previewed

Visits Moscow

LD1011065689 Moscow TASS in English 0633 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—diplomatic correspondent:

Swedish foreign minister Sten Andersson, before arriving in Moscow on November 9, began his official visit to the USSR by visiting two Soviet Baltic Republics, Estonia and Latvia.

He was in Tallinn on November 8, and in Riga on November 9. The minister had conversations with leaders of the republics and visited premises where branches of Sweden's consulate-general, situated in Leningrad, are planned to be opened.

The widening of contacts between Soviet republics and Sweden is viewed in the Soviet Union as a specific example of the restructuring of the entire complex of the USSR's foreign ties.

Already now union republics can cooperate in full measure with other states in the areas of economy, ecology, science and technology, cultural and humanitarian exchanges.

The visit of the Swedish minister is the first contact between a high official of north European countries and Soviet leaders after Mikhail Gorbachev made in Helsinki a number of new initiatives related to northern Europe.

It is noted in Soviet diplomatic circles that Sten Andersoon's forthcoming negotiations in Moscow will bring the two countries to a new level of mutual understanding and cooperation.

There are many examples of mutual interaction between the two countries, but the state of trading and economic ties between the USSR and Sweden, for instance, cannot be regarded as satisfactory.

They are not commensurate with the level of Soviet-Swedish political dialogue and are not in keeping with economic potentials of the two countries.

In this sense, it is important to develop new forms of exchange, in the framework of joint ventures, cooperation in production, direct ties, coastal and border trade.

During the talks, much attention will be given to the quest for joint ways of consolidating security in the north of Europe.

The USSR attaches much importance to the creation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in the region and is prepared for negotiations on any aspect of the formation of such a zone.

The Soviet Union started the implementation of appropriate measures in its territory.

No Soviet intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles remain on the alert in areas adjoining the North of Europe, and Soviet tactical nuclear weapons cannot target North European countries.

The Soviet Union unilaterally starts eliminating some kinds of sea-launched nuclear weapons in the Baltic.

By the end of 1990, the numerical strength of Soviet troops in the territories of the Leningrad and the Baltic military districts will be reduced by approximately one-third, a greater proportionate reduction than the overall reduction of Soviet Armed Forces.

Seen Off by Shevardnadze

LD1211112389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] On 12 November, Swedish Foreign Minister Andersson left Moscow for Vilnius. He has been in our country on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

He was seen off at the airport by Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

Meets Officials in Vilnius, Departs

LD1311024189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Vilnius, 12 Nov (TASS)—Today, Sten Andersson, Swedish minister of foreign affairs, who is in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government, visited the capital of Lithuania. He was then received by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania; Vytautas Astrauskas, chairman of the presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet; and Vytautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic.

During a converation, the possibility of closer cooperation between Lithuania and Sweden in the field of economy, science, culture, and tourism was discussed. The possibility of ties between specialists of different industries, and the combining of efforts in the ecological field, especially in the preservation of the Baltic Sea, was examined in particular.

The Swedish minister for foreign affairs toured the Lithuanian capital and visited Vilnius University, the oldest in the USSR, which is entering its 500th year.

In the evening, Sten Andersson and those officials accompanying him left the USSR.

Nordic Nuclear-Free Zone Discussions Viewed

PM0811160389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Sychev dispatch: "Northern Europe: Nuclear-Free Zone: Are There Chances of Success for Its Creation?"]

[Text] Stockholm—"We must urge the government on," I was told over the telephone by Anker Jorgensen, former leader of Denmark's Social Democratic Party, after a recent session of the Interparliamentary Commission of the Nordic Countries in Copenhagen on the question of creating a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe. "The government group of experts which is preparing a report on this question is working slowly. Governments are not supporting it, wrongly. We must act now in order not to miss the real opportunity of implementing the idea."

A peculiar attitude has indeed persisted of late among ruling circles in the Nordic countries toward the nuclear-free zone. People here are trying not to broach this topic. There is a tacit "vow of silence" in expectation of a report from a group of high-ranking foreign ministry staffers from five states of the region. The Soviet Union's readiness to embark on solving this problem, which was confirmed in the speech given by M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in Helsinki, provoked a number of statements which have somewhat clarified the current state of affairs.

It is well known that the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in Europe was first put forward by the Soviet Union in 1958. North Europe was regarded then as part of a wider formation with nuclear-free status. Several years later former Finnish President Urho Kaleva Kekkonen addressed this idea, defining the political contours of a nuclear-free North. Over the last few years North Europe seemed to have approached the last turn on this long and complex path.

That is in effect how matters stand. It is only a question of how we will be able to realize the emergent possibilities. The idea of setting up a nuclear-free zone has become a firm part of the region's political life and is supported by between 60 and more than 90 percent of Swedes, Finns, Icelanders, Danes, and Norwegians. Three communes in Sweden decided not to accept foreign warships that may be carrying nuclear weapons in their ports and another three are considering the possibilities of proclaiming their territories nuclear-free zones. A positive attitude to a nuclear-free zone has been enshrined in Swedish Government statements, resolutions adopted by the Danish and Icelandic parliaments, and documents produced by Norway's Social Democrats.

Last, the first conference of parliamentarians from all Nordic states was held in November 1985 in Copenhagen dedicated to the creation of a nuclear-free zone; a commission was created in the course of this conference to prepare concrete proposals. Its report, along with growing pressure from this country's public, spurred governments on to form their own commission in March 1987.

In accordance with the procedure that has been elaborated for holding consultations, the foreign ministries' appointed representatives have met twice a year. Their deputies have just had a meeting. "Of course, the work would have progressed faster if we had been relieved of our direct duties at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," Danish representative Ambassador J. Korsgaard-Petersen reproached his leadership. Be that as it may, almost 2 and ½ years have elapsed. A considerable period of time. The year 1990—the time by which the Swedish and Finnish Governments want the experts to have completed their work (admittedly, the cabinets of the other three countries did not support them)—is drawing near. What have they succeeded in doing? What results have they achieved in putting the varied viewpoints and positions of states that include neutral Sweden and Finland and members of the North Atlantic alliance into a single document.

At present it is hard to evaluate whether they have passed half-way. Sections of the report have been prepared describing, in particular, the North European states' security policy and analyzing the region's strategic significance and the states' obligations. The commission has started elaborating principles and timeframes for the creation of a nuclear-free zone and studying its attitude to all-European processes. The equally complex questions of the zone's borders, the seas around it, and nuclear arms reductions in the areas located in direct proximity to the zone lie ahead.

"I cannot give a date by which we will have finished our report," Ambassador J. Korsgaard-Petersen shrugged. "We still have a lot of papers to look at before we can obtain any results. Moreover new events in international politics necessitate amendments to the sections we have already prepared. Time will also be spent on this." The commission will meet in Helsinki next month according to plan. Its participants intend to analyze M.S. Gorbachev's speeches there and determine what amendments need to be made to the materials that have been prepared.

We will not engage in conjecture as to whether 1990 will be the transition year to a practical stage in the history of the idea of a nuclear-free zone in North Europe. But there is no doubt that the possibility of the formation of such zone is becoming particularly tangible and realistic today.

CPSU Greetings to Danish Communist Party

PM0911124789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[Message from the CPSU Central Committee to the Danish Communist Party Central Committee on its anniversary]

[Text] To the Danish Communist Party Central Committee

Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends warm greetings and congratulations to all Danish Communists in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Danish Communist Party.

Today the various political and social forces are faced with topical tasks of a new kind whose solutions may be of lasting significance for the whole of mankind.

The times urgently demand a search for new attitudes and forms and methods of work which correspond to the spirit of the present. The significance of communists' joint efforts to theoretically reinterpret, on a Marxist basis, the realities of the contemporary world and the future development of socialism, is growing.

We wish the fraternal Danish Communist Party successes in its struggle for the interests of your country's people and for peace, democracy, and socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee

Air Force General Interviewed Prior to UK Visit

LD1311150489 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] A Soviet military delegation led by the Air Force general, Boris Korolkov, is paying an official visit to Britain. In an interview before the departure for London General Korolkov said the desire to renounce military confrontation has not prevailed in international relations in full. Some influential Western circles have been regarding the movement towards a nuclear-free nonviolent world with mistrust and even resistance. For this reason, said Gen Korolkov, there was nothing more important in international relations than to consolidate peace and security. It is towards this end that both civilian public organizations and military representatives in various countries have been expanding their contacts at present.

Latin America & Caribbean

Soviet-Cuban Amity Body Receives Cuban Award

PM0911131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "As Sign of Recognition"]

[Text] Havana, 8 Nov—As a token of recognition for its tireless activity over 25 years to strengthen the fraternal ties between the USSR and Cuba, the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society has been awarded the Order of Solidarity by decree of the Cuban Council of State.

Speaking at the presentation ceremony at the Association of Cuban-Soviet Friendship, Rene Rodriguez Cruz, president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship between Peoples, noted that the legendary Latin American revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara and the Soviet cosmonaut Yuriy Gagarin—the society's first president—were at the fountainhead of the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society, founded 11 November 1964.

Replying, Yu.V. Petrov, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR ambassador to Cuba, pointed out the importance of the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society's daily work, which is aimed at drawing the peoples of the two countries closer together and at developing Soviet-Cuban cooperation in various spheres.

Paper Reports Firefight at U.S. Panama Base

PM1311114189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Firefight at Military Base"]

[Text] Panama, 9 Nov—A firefight has occurred at the U.S. military base in Panama between persons unknown and U.S. servicemen, a communique issued by the U.S. Southern Command, which is deployed in the country, reports.

The document notes that a Marine unit guarding Galeta Island, which is near the Atlantic entrance to the Panama Canal, spotted a group of people crossing the territory of the base. A large U.S. Army electronic surveillance and intelligence center is located on the island. The strangers opened fire and were in turn fired upon by the Marines, the communique reports. The attackers managed to escape. An investigation is under way into the incident.

For 2 days an underground radio station has been broadcasting in Panama calling for the overthrow of the "military dictatorship and a struggle for Panama's freedom and democracy." One of the TV channels was interrupted by a 25-minute broadcast which carried an interview with the widow of the leader of the unsuccessful mutiny staged by a group of military personnel 3 October this year. The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs is investigating these cases.

The situation in Panama seriously concerns the White House administration, John Bushnell, U.S. charge d'affaires in Panama, has stated here. A U.S. Embassy bulletin issued in the Panamanian capital containing a speech by the new head of the U.S. diplomatic mission notes that Washington's main aims with regard to Panama have not undergone any substantive changes.

Panamanian Official Comments on Upcoming Visit

LD0911111189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] A Panamanian Government delegation will visit the USSR and hold talks within the framework of a bilateral trade and economic agreement. Elmo Martinez Blanco, minister of commerce and industries and head of the delegation, and Gustavo Gonzalez, minister of planning and economic policy, agreed to meet with a TASS correspondent prior to their departure.

Gonzalez emphasized: We are not only seeking ways to expand Panamanian exports, but also to actively expand the importation of Soviet goods—cars and trucks, excavators, agricultural equipment, machine tools, electronic equipment, fertilizers and other technological equipment.

In the present complicated political situation in which Panama has lost the United States as its traditional trading partner, the government considers it necessary to move the country's economy away from unilateral dependence toward a dynamic international look.

Well, let's hope that we can do business on a mutally advantageous basis.

Peruvian Authorities Round Up 'Armed Extremists'

PM0811115589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Antiterrorist Operation"]

[Text] Lima, 7 Nov—Subunits of the Peruvian ground forces and police, supported by armored personnel carriers, have conducted a major operation to arrest groups of armed extremists on the student campus of the San Marcos State University. The operation took place after several terrorists broke into the building of the National Industrialists Society, where they set off three bombs causing extensive damage to the building. After the attack the extremists fled to the university campus.

As a result of the operation around 100 students were arrested on suspicion of terrorist activity. Weapons, ammunition, and subversive literature were confiscated from some of them.

Political terrorism has become part of everyday life in Peru. Recently a series of armed attacks has been carried out in various parts of the country by the extremist grouping Sendero Luminoso, which is trying to disrupt the municipal elections planned for 12 November. In Tirapata village (Puno department) a Sendero Luminoso detachment seized the local mayor and shot him in the central square in front of local residents who had been made to go there. In the town of San Clemente terrorists threw bombs at the homes of mayoral candidates from various political parties. In the village of Coris (Ancash department) Sendero Luminoso fighters set fire to the telephone exchange and the municipal council and also took away the inhabitants' voting cards—the main identification document in an election. They threatened to deal with anyone who takes part in the municipal elections.

As a result of the extremists' threats around 90 mayoral candidates have withdrawn their nominations, as have hundreds of contenders for municipal council seats.

Economic Reform Conference

Conference on Economic Reform Opens in Moscow

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Attend

LD1311174189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The all-union scientific and practical conference devoted to the development of the concept and the policy of deepening economic reform opened today in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions, Moscow. Comrades Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, and other state leaders are attending the conference. Scientists and economic managers, leaders of ministries and central economic departments, USSR people's deputies, and representatives of all the union republics were invited.

The work of the plenary meeting was opened by a report on topical problems of the development of economic science, and ways to implement reform in our country; it was given by academician Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The materials submitted for discussion were presented to participants before the conference, and this made it possible for those taking part in debates to straight away submit alternatives and various methods of solving problems. Roundtable meetings devoted to the analysis of interrelations between economics and politics, and to foreign managerial experience are to be held. Press conferences for Soviet and foreign correspondents are planned.

The conference ends 15 November. [video shows the audience; Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Aganbegyan, Medbedev, Slyunkov among the Presidium; Abalkin speaking from the rostrum; Gorbachev taking notes]

Moscow TV Report

LD1311222489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 89

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] An all-union scientific and practical conference on the problems of radical economic reform started today in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions. Here is our report on the first day of its work:

[Correspondent Dmitriy Kiselev, identified by caption] In Sunday's "Seven Days" program, we acquainted you with the results of the public opinion poll which shows that only 2 percent of the Soviet people believe that the country's economic situation is a favorable one. Approximately two-thirds of the population think that the country's leadership does not have a well thought-out program of action for recovery of the economy. Here in the Hall of Columns today an intellectual onslaught has started. The best economic brains in the country have gathered here to work out this well thought-out program for restructuring of the economy.

Taking part in the work of the conference are Comrades Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, and other state leaders. [Video shows scenes at conference with Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Medvedev, and Slyunkov]

The first report was read by Leonid Abalkin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The theses of the report were published in advance in the EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA.

[Begin Abalkin recording] Economic reform is not an autonomous, isolated process. It is a component link in perestroyka. It is impossible without a radical reform of the political system. At the same time, it does itself act a condition, a prerequisite for the radical political renewal of the country, of its consistent democratization. It acts as the economic basis for the renewal of perestroyka. At present, we have encountered the almost complete absence of the working out of a theory of the transitional period, and in general of a theory of transitional movements. And it is precisely a theory like this that is required to answer the questions and how, in what manner, with what methods, in what order must the program of these measures be carried out?

First of all, a policy is needed, a policy, a consistent policy with which every step can be collated, by means of which it can be checked whether that step is in line with the planned transformation or not. Experience further shows that a certain critical mass of new elements must be created, that is, new elements when scattered and taken individually lack strength and are not viable. What is needed is a certain accumulation of a critical mass of new elements which do in total permit the system's inertia to be broken and to give the impetus to what is described in ordinary terms as a qualitatively new trend in social development. [end recording]

[Kiselev] During the interval, I spoke to USSR People's Deputy Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov:

[Begin recording] [Kiselev] Gavriil Kharitonovich, we have just listened to you and I have just heard the report by Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin on the prospects for and stages of the economic reform. Are you still in opposition, just as you were before?

[Popov] You see, I do not think of my position as opposition. If I have remarks to make, views and additions, that is, you see, not necessarily opposition.

[Kiselev] But if these are remarks of a fundamental nature, then it is opposition. Are your remarks not of a fundamental nature?

[Popov] No, I do have remarks of a fundamental nature to make. But for all that, I believe that opposition is precisely objection in essence. But if it is a question of measures that fit into the general idea that the government is expressing and the controversy is whether to put them into effect earlier or later or in a broader manner or more in depth, then I think it is a constructive working out of ideas. Then if one is to use the word opposition, I would say constructive opposition.

[Kiselev] All right then, if we call your opposition constructive, then what are the constructive proposals for your part?

[Popov] I think that we must think out the following. First of all, I think that we have to work out a new scheme for the transition to the market. The old scheme for the transition to the market as an organized scheme is not suitable. The scheme for an immediate transition to the market is not suitable either. For me, the most important thing at the present time is to work out a variant whereby, on the one hand, social guarantees for all of us would be combined in the time in which we live and, on the other hand, for all that manifestations of a free market in one variant or another. For me personally, this is connected with the formulation of ideas—perhaps not very popular ones, but it seems to me unavoidable ones—the ideas of a ration card system which must be introduced in the country to provide, to guarantee people minimum consumption at normal prices. And all the rest I would transfer to a complete free market regime in order to start to form the bases of a new economy. [end recording]

[Kiselev] There are many proposals offered both from the rostrum and in the lobby. Here is Finance Minister Pavlov:

[Begin Pavlov recording] The new wholesale prices that were being prepared stipulated a single norm of profitability for everybody based on the principle of equal profit for equal capital. This created a foundation for introducing a uniform rate for linear taxation of profits. Today we see, however, a proposal to introduce tax while keeping the old prices in force for a relatively long time. In our view, we are at least 2 years behind with reforming prices, and today we think that the approach to price-formation reform that has been proposed can result in practice only in the disorganization of both production and money turnover. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Kiselev] The reportage would be incomplete, though, if we do not show what was going on beyond the walls of the Hall of Columns. [Video shows a disorganized crowd, many holding posters, some posters read: "Shame on Abalkin and Co"—this poster includes the Star of David in a black circle—"We demand money reform," "Shame on economists planning unemployment," "No to rootless cosmopolites," "West-oriented economists! Russia is not a test ground for your theories," "Deputy! Think twice and do not trust Shmelev," "We are against private ownership."]

[Unidentified man on the street] We must preserve, by all means, what we used to have. Please note that in the 50's we had a strong state. It was a centralized state.

Slyunkov Opening Address

LD1311152689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] An all-union scientific and practical conference on problems of the radical reform commenced work today in the Columned Hall of the House of the Unions in Moscow. Opening the conference, Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on questions of social and economic policy, said among other things:

[Begin Slyunkov recording] We regard the conference as the logical continuation of the discussion that took place upon the initiative of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the conference at the CPSU Central Committee with leading economic scientists. The special feature of the conference is its scientific character. The concept of the economic reform was worked out by the June 1987 plenum of the Central Committee.

Implementation of it, however, is proceeding slowly. The levers of management and administration by injunction have been undermined, but the economic levers have not yet taken effect in full measure in the economy. It is obvious that the economy cannot remain for a long time in a transitional state of this kind. There is no going back to the past. We have to move forward. The implementation of the economic reform must be done in an integrated way; it must be carried out stage-by-stage, successively—but the main thing is that it must be resolutely speeded up.

We should today be exchanging opinions and advice on how to ensure the implementation of an integrated, radical economic reform; to accelerate the introduction of the most important elements of the reform and their implementation; to follow the processes that are taking place more quickly and better and forestall and remove negative manifestations; to build up the work and monitor the timely implementation of the measures that have been mapped out; to ensure that the economy turns more quickly toward the achievement of the ultimate quality results—and through this to ensure a turn in the direction of social needs; to arrange the work of economic mechanisms, the taxation system, credit, the banks, norms and normatives, in such a way that money goes to those who have earned it; to eliminate levelling out and living at the expense of others; to put right the social protection mechanism and to preserve and multiply socialist values and gains.

Perestroyka cannot be implemented at a stroke. The main thing is how it can be speeded up through deepening and accelerating the economic reform. It has to be born in mind that the reform is linked with a radical dissolving of social relationships. It touches upon the interests of all social groups and strata of the population. In many respects, public consciousness has turned out not to be prepared for the radical changes in the economy. An affection for stereotypes and old methods of economic management, for living at the expense of others and levelling out is making itself felt. The central question that we are faced with discussing is the issue of ownership and the restructuring of production relationships. As was stressed way back at the 27th party congress, this is the key problem of our society and our economy.

Intimately linked with this problem is the development of money- goods relationships, the formation of a socialist market and its state regulation, the reform of price formation, and the further improvement of the whole finance and credit system and external economic links. A general topic is the transition of the republics and the regions onto the principles of self-management and self-financing.

The task is to determine how, with the help of financial autonomy, to achieve maximum acceleration of the social and economic development of the regions, the republics and the country as a whole. For the success of the reform, the training or retraining of cadres is of the greatest significance. One of the main tasks is to ensure an acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Without any doubt only economic reform and scientific and technical progress will ensure that a really strong social policy is achieved: for ultimately the aim and purpose of all our reforms are the interests of the working person and his material and spiritual realm. [end recording]

[Announcer] A report entitled: "The Radical Economic Reform—Immediate and Long-term Measures" was delivered at the conference by Comrade Abalkin. The conference will continue work for 3 days.

Abalkin: Urgent Measures Required

LD1311184289 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] A national conference on issues related to the fundamental economic reform has opened in Moscow.

Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin made the main report. He said the current complicated situation in the country's economy required urgent measures. He mentioned steps to cut the budget deficit, which have already begun, and to slash centralized capital investment, restrictions on unjustified income growth and a buildup of consumer goods production.

Leonid Abalkin said the reform was aimed at breathing a new life into socialism.

Abalkin Describes Stages of Reform

LD1311174789 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—Despite its depth and radicalism, the Soviet economic reform aims not at socialism being replaced by another system or some amorphous society. It is to renovate socialism, to give it new life wind, deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Economic Reform Leonid Abalkin said here.

Abalkin was addressing an all-union economic conference, organised by the USSR Council of Ministers, the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of National Economy.

Describing the stages of transition to the new type of economy, Abalkin said that the first stage, to be completed by late 1990, is one of preparations for simultaneous implementation of a set of measures to produce a transition period mechanism.

These include adopting laws on a uniform system of taxation, the state bank (Gosbank), a price reform, labour remuneration, social insurance, reactivating enterprises' switch-over to leasing and transforming them into cooperatives, share-holding societies or other economic entities.

At this stage extraordinary measures of normalising the finances are envisaged, above all reduction of the budget deficit and restraining income growth and credit inputs and money printing.

By the end of 1990 all industrial enterprises running at a loss will have been liquidated and the import structure changed.

The second stage, from 1991 to 1992, involves the implementation of a set of simultaneous measures and the launching of the economic mechanism for the transition period. It is at this time that all the above legislative acts will have entered into force, the state and collective farms running at a loss liquidated and remodelled along the lines of farms and cooperatives. Reform of the credit system will begin by reorganising the work of the state bank.

The development of the market will have made substantial headway, stimulated by permission to sell produce over and above the state order for freely set prices.

Manufactures auctions and fairs will be transformed into goods exchanges and commercial centres and a stock exchange will be organised.

However, due to the incomplete nature of normalisation of finances and the remaining disparities in the manufacture of goods, shortages will probably persist.

The third stage, from 1993 to 1995, presupposes a "live" testing of the transition period's economic mechanism and implementing the programme for the furtherance of the reform.

This period will see the completion of the financial normalisation. As a consequence of a widening market sector, prices and incomes will grow, the consumer market will balance and foreign economic relations will be significantly developed.

The last stage, one of the setting in place and development of the new economic system and the emergence of a structure of production and of social and economic relations in line with the system, is planned for 1996-2000 and beyond, Abalkin said.

PRAVDA 'Information' Report

PM1311185789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

["Own Information" report: "Strategy and Tactics of Economic Reform"]

[Text] What are the strategy and tactics of radical economic reform? What avenue should the economy pursue in the future? These and many other questions of crucial importance for perestroyka were submitted for discussion at an all-union scientific-practical conference on the problems of radical economic reform which opened in Moscow yesterday.

It was attended by M.S. Gorbachev, V.A. Medvedev, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, A.P. Biryukova, Yu.A. Manayenkov, Ye.S. Stroyev, and G.I. Usmanov. N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, opened the conference and delivered an introductory speech to the scientists and economic managers, leaders of ministries and departments, USSR people's deputies, and party and trade union officials taking part in it.

He emphasized in particular that the radical economic reform is an immutable and most important component of the party's policy for society's perestroyka. It is no accident that the CPSU Central Committee attaches major importance to the work of the conference which has just opened: The people are hoping for serious and constructive results.

The main conference report was delivered by Academician L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The debate began in the morning, and speeches were delivered by N.Ya. Petrakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V.I. Shimko, USSR minister of the radio industry; Academician A.G. Aganbegyan; USSR Minister of Finance V.S. Pavlov; Academician S.S. Shatalin; S.I. Gurenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V.V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank Board; and Academician O.T. Bogomolov.

The debate on the report resumed at the evening's plenary sitting. The conference is continuing its work today at section and "round table" sittings.

Supreme Soviet Session

Committees Debate Supreme Soviet Recall Procedure

PM1311143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by parliamentary correspondent V. Dolganov under the rubric "In the USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions": "Looking Ahead to the Future"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] ...In the Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection each of the deputies has a document, many pages long, entitled "Proposals on amplifying and amending existing USSR legislation, geared to further strengthening the family and protecting mothers and children." It has four sections at the moment—laws on marriage and the family; on housing; on health; on labor. I say "at the moment," because the package of proposals is expanding all the time. This is one area of the committee's "long-term" work. It would be a difficult job to list all the proposals put forward by deputies, but believe me, they relate to literally all aspects of our life and are intended in the future to eliminate many "hot spots," which are currently contributing to an increase in the number of divorces, to the orphaning of children whose parents are still alive, and to a sharp deterioration in the health of the people, particularly children.

We do not even have an approximate date for the consideration of these documents at the Supreme Soviet, but it can definitely be said that when the time comes they will be as precise as possible. And it is this work that is going on at the moment in all our parliament's permanent bodies.

They are also examining legal acts that are needed right now, today. The day I visited the Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection it was discussing three documents at once, with committee chairman People's Deputy V.I. Matviyenko in the chair: a draft law on the procedure for recalling deputies; the draft Standing Orders of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet proposals on the procedure for overhauling the Supreme Soviet. The plan is that they will be approved at a plenary sitting in the very near future.

There was a lot of argument about the recall procedure. This procedure is essential in a democratic society. And any deputy "who has failed the electorate or a public organization can be recalled at any time if a majority of the electorate or of the public organization that elected him decides to do so." But how is this to be done in practice?

This is being hotly debated at the moment by people's deputies E.A. Panchenko, V.Ya. Kalashnikov, Yu.Y. Kuplyauskene, V.S. Klibik, and their other comrades.

But there is much less argument about this draft law than about the draft Standing Orders and the procedure for annually overhauling the Supreme Soviet. The two documents are being discussed together because a number of provisions in them are related (there is even the view that it would not be a bad idea to incorporate the second document in the Standing Orders, as a separate chapter).

Opinion is particularly divided (and not only in this committee) on the extent to which the Supreme Soviet should be annually overhauled. The USSR Constituiuon says: "The Congress of USSR People's Deputies will annually replace one-fifth of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities." But it is now clear that article 111 of the Constitution should perhaps be changed and **up to one-fifth** replaced, many deputies propose. Otherwise continuity is broken in the Supreme Soviet itself, not to mention its committees and commissions. Incidentally, V.Ya. Kalashnikov remarked, the rights of permanent parliamentary bodies to decide on rotation are being infringed, because the decision rests with meetings of groups of people's deputies from the union republics. But they may not know how useful a person's work has been on the committee and what contributions he has made to the new laws which emerge.

The committee's proposal is gradually taking shape. Since all territories and nations must be represented in parliament, alternative elections should be held within the framework of the groups of people's deputies from the union republics. These groups will submit to the Congress complete lists of deputies delegated to the country's Supreme Soviet, but at the actual Congress each deputy (and committee and commission as well) will still have the right to challenge and criticize when individual candidates are being discussed.

Having weighed up all the pros and cons, the committee decided to defend this viewpoint at the session.

Finally, at committee and commission meetings parliamentary correspondents are hearing an increasingly familiar phrase: "Ah, would that we had a qualified lawyer to help us draw up the amendments with the utmost accuracy..." What is the problem? In fact, our parliament's permanent bodies can enlist the services of any expert, specialist or consultant (as many as it requires) at any time, as has been said more than once during the session. But the chairmen of a number of committees and commissions have reported that the procedure for inviting and enlisting the services of these specialists is complicated. There is no fee provision for once-only invitations, for example. But why? This matter must be looked at closely.

...Plenary sittings of both chambers will resume 13 November. The end of the session draws nearer.

Nationalities Commission Discusses Minority Rights

LD1311172189 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Making even shorter a parliamentary recess, the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the nationalities policy and ethnic relations held another unscheduled sitting on Sunday [12 November] on the rights of national minorities.

Lawmakers discussed the bill on "the free development of the nationality of Soviet citizens living outside their nationality-stake entities or not having them in the country."

The commission has been debating this issue for several months. The initial version was revamped six or seven times during a painstaking and article-by-article discussion, and was in fact cut by half due to weeded out generalities and vague wordings.

Leading lawyers who joined the initiative group of deputies at the last stage of work, gave it legal validity.

The bill provides for forming new administrative-territorial entities: national areas, national villages and national rural soviets (councils). They may be formed at places where the indigenous population makes up the majority or even slightly less than half the population.

New autonomies create conditions for the active participation of the indigenous population in the operation of soviets and consistent realisation of their cultural requirements, including education, the development of the native tongue and folk arts.

Many national minorities in Siberia, the far north, the Baltics and other regions of the country declared their desire for this form of self-determination without waiting for the opinion of lawmakers.

The last version of the document under discussion satisfied deputies on the whole. They instructed commission chairman Georgiy Tarazevich to table it for the consideration of the council of nationalities.

This chamber will be also offered another bill approved by the commission: on the lanaguages of Soviet peoples.

Moscow TV Airs 13 Nov Supreme Soviet Proceedings

1600 GMT

LD1311174689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 13 November begins carrying a recorded relay of the 13 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

The session is chaired by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and begins with a reading of the agenda. The first item is a continuation of the discussion on the draft bases of USSR and union republican legislation on the judicial system.

First to speak is Deputy A.M. Yakovlev who introduces the main features of the draft. This is then commented on by other deputies. Deputy Burlatskiy speaks about the principle of juries in court, noting that he knows Yakovlev to be a supporter of this idea. A deputy asks Yakovlev which language should be used in courts, to which Yakovlev replies that it would normally be the language used by the majority population in a given locality.

Deputy Belozertsev suggests including a guarantee against arbitrariness in order to ensure against restrictions on courts in the even of political change in country. Yakovlev replies by drawing a distinction between purely court functions and matters of political democracy which are outside of the present discussion.

At 1633 GMT Deputy Sobchak calls for the right to a defense in court, noting that the present formulation of the draft provides no more than did the previous legislation. He also urges the inclusion of a clear formulation regarding instances in which juries would be invovled in court procedure. Another deputy raises the question of ensuring a distinction between a judge's political allegiance and his professional capacity. Yakovlev says that although this is a most important matter it is really for discussion in the context of the Constitution.

1645 GMT

LD1311185389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1645 GMT on 13 November continues its recorded relay of the 13 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Deputy Sakharov agrees with Sobchak's view on the need for a lawyer to be involved at an early stage.

At 1707 GMT Nishanov summarizes the discussion so far and suggests that the articles under discussion should be voted on, beginning with a draft of the articles on juries. The proposed amendment is adopted by 376 votes for, 5 against, and 18 abstentions.

At 1712 GMT the announcer states that there will be a break for 15 minutes. The relay recommences at 1727 GMT with Yakovlev again at the rostrum. Voting on further amendments takes place. A deputy speaks in favor of eliminating all those instances in which, for one reason or another, a citizen is prevented from appealing to a court. More voting takes place.

At 1735 GMT there is a discussion on the relationship between the procuracy and the courts. Deputies point out the competition between the two institutions, and advise against the procuracy being allowed an intervening or commenting role as this would question the independence of the courts.

At 1754 GMT a deputy asks why the procurator general has arrived at the Supreme Soviet to seek a review of an already made decision. More voting takes place. Nishanov commends the deputies for having done good work in a friendly way, and announces a 20-minute interval.

The relay resumes at 1758 GMT with a caption announcing that the afternoon session of the Supreme Soviet is now in session. This session is chaired by Primakov who introduces a discussion on the right of Soviet citizens to leave and reenter the USSR. USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Kovalev is first to speak. He cites data on how applications to leave the USSR are handled. He notes that at present only 0.14 percent of applications for temporary exit are refused and only 0.04 percent of applications for permanent residence abroad are refused. He speaks in general terms about how in the past individuals have been refused the right to travel abroad to meet with relatives.

1823 GMT

LD1311211789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1823 GMT on 13 November continues its recorded relay of the 13 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Deputy Foreign Minister Kovalev speaks about the effects on the USSR's balance of payments of citizens taking foreign currency abroad, but goes on to state that the development of human contacts in many spheres cannot be calculated in purely monetary terms, and asks what kind of a common European home it would be if those living in it did not have the right to leave and to come back freely. He notes that after the Helsinki documents were signed a less than serious attitude was adopted toward the humanitarian clauses. It has been possible only in recent years for the country's leadership to get back to treating the human rights issues in full.

At 1828 GMT Primakov opens the discussion to the floor. Deputy Dzasokhov speaks first, describing the draft as yet another inspiring signal from this hall. He says it has been the subject of detailed discussion in the international affairs committee and the proposals and remarks made by Soviet people have been taken into account. Many Soviet scientists have been invited to lecture abroad on a wide range of subjects and this is one of many aspects of this question which requires urgent attention.

At 1839 GMT Deputy Burlatskiy takes the floor, stressing the importance of this law in the context of human rights. He cites some data: in 1987 261,000 Soviet citizens travelled abroad; this year the figure is expected to be in the region of 2,000,000. He goes on to list the merits of the bill and then looks at individual aspects of it, including those which stipulate the grounds for refusal of a visa, such as a criminal record, and those which restrict entry of foreign citizens and the rights of both sides to appeal.

At 1853 GMT Primakov asks if any one has any questions and Burlatskiy proceeds to reply to various points made by delegates including Kozyrev who raises question of lifting all trade barriers with the United States. Primakov thinks perhaps this question should be put to the deputy foreign minister. Another deputy in military uniform calls for restrictions on servicemen's travel abroad to be lifted.

Burlatskiy continues to answer deputies' questions on lifting restrictions for Soviet citizens' travelling abroad. Primakov suggests that some of the fine points being raised should be referred back to the committees. Another deputy thinks it would better to have one single Soviet passport for every citizen and not special ones for different categories.

At 1925 GMT Primakov sums up saying that it appears that the view of deputies is to approve the draft in its first reading, and puts the draft to the vote. It is approved by 368 votes for, 5 against and 10 abstentions.

Before announcing a 4-hour interval, Primakov reads a request from some deputies requesting that deputies stay in their own seats to avoid confusion between people's deputies who are, and those who are not members of the Supreme Soviet.

There is then a 4-minute break in the relay.

1929 GMT

LD1311213589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1929 GMT on 13 November continues its recorded relay of the 13 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

A caption announces that the evening session of the Supreme Soviet is underway. Gorbachev is in the chair and asks deputies to register. He hands the floor to Lukyanov. As Lukyanov speaks about the decision to call a congress of people's deputies on Tuesday 12 December 1989, the video shows Vorotnikov and Ryzhkov in the audience. Gorbachev announces that included on the agenda of the congress will be a report by the Council of Ministers on the economic situation, and gives a list of proposed items for the agenda of the proposed congress. He says that a commission of 80 people has been formed to prepare for the congress.

At 1946 GMT Gorbachev invites questions for Lukyanov. Deputy Sazonov expresses perplexity at the unanimity of the presidium of the Council of Ministers in suggesting that certain decisions should be taken on economic and political matters at the proposed congress before the Supreme Soviet has touched upon or decided such issues. Lukyanov responds and explains the presidium's position.

At 1953 GMT Lukyanov answers a deputy who speaks about questions which have been raised in some part of the country—and by the Vorkuta people about Article 6 of the Constitution and the way in which the party is ensured a leading role in society. Lukyanov says that the aim of such questions is to remove the party from work in the soviets and thus make room for people with other ideas, but who, he says, always actually have the same views.

At 1956 GMT Sobchak speaks about the need for any discussions on the use of the land, for example, to be held over 5 and if necessary 7 days at the proposed congress. Lukyanov says that if the Supreme Soviet agrees this can be done. Deputy Medvedev suggests a possible rotation for deputies who find themselves unable to take part in sessions of the Supreme Soviet because of their basic functions, noting that there have been sessions which have not even had a quorum.

At 2004 GMT Sakharov speaks about the interrelated nature of the laws of the USSR which comprises the Constitution of the USSR, and he proposes that a report should be given at sessions by representatives of the appropriate commission on how the new constitution is shaping up. Gorbachev says that the current discussion is intended for questions to the rapporteur, and no debate for proposals has yet been opened. After Lukyanov speaks, he again reminds deputies of this.

At 2008 GMT a deputy expresses perplexity at the role of the Presidium in all this. Gorbachev cuts him off saying that the discussion is for questions to the rapporteur. Further discussion follows. A deputy questions how, if it has been decided to put basic laws up for nationwide discussion, the mechanism will exist to ensure that the results of such a discussion will be analyzed and will not be manipulated. Lukyanov speaks of the intention to conduct the most careful analysis of the results using computers.

At 2020 GMT Deputy Komarov speaks of open attempts to sabotage restructuring in some areas, and the need to deal with them. Gorbachev thanks Lukyanov. A deputy then speaks about the ongoing nature of the party's leading role and describes Article 6 of the Constitution as being not God-given but a Brezhnev-Suslov invention which does not appear in earlier constitutions, even Stalin's. He reminds people of Lenin's conception of the party being entitled to a leading role only if it has earned such a role by its good honest work. There is no such right as such. Deputy Gubarev describes himself as a communist and therefore not inclined to remove the party from work in the soviets, but says that power belongs to the people and it is a declarative matter that this power must be effected exclusively through the soviets. Deputy Bocharov says that if the proposed agenda is adopted, people will not understand, and stresses that concrete, specific actions are needed. He says that a law on the exit and entry of citizens of the USSR has been adopted and says this is not a priority matter. People are asking if we understand what is happening in the country.

At 2038 GMT a Baltic deputy proposes the need for alternative forms of military service. Another deputy advocates the postponement of the proposed congress. It is not Mikhail Gorbachev who is leading the country now, he says, it is the Supreme Soviet, and if the congress is held as proposed he fears a sharp decline in the prestige of the Supreme Soviet.

At 2048 GMT a deputy speaks about the extent of the danger posed by organized crime which is capable of destabilizing both economic and political life in the country. Another deputy speaks in favor of holding the congress. He says the reason why events such as in Vorkuta arose is that the restructuring processes have been led by the people who brought the country to the need for restructuring, and accuses a particular local leader of having arranged the rigging of the mass media during his absence at the Supreme Soviet. If we do not take decisive measures then restructuring will be stifled, which is just what the mafia is waiting for. Gorbachev says that Deputy Andreyeva is next to speak, and the name Gorbunov is also mentioned.

2057 GMT

LD1311231989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2057 GMT on 13 November continues its recorded relay of the 13 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow. Deputy andreyeva declares herself to be a consciously nonparty person, and notes the discrepancy between the arguments raised by some earlier speakers who had said that the party's leading role was established in 1977. Are we saying then that the party did not rule the country before then, she asks? Are we not accusing the apparatus of what happened in the twenties and thirties?

At 2102 GMT Deputy Gorbunov takes the floor and dwells on the problem of the economic independence of the republics and the renewal and legal status of the federation. He calls for some changes in articles of the USSR Constitution.

At 2107 GMT as Gorbunov completes his speech, Gorbachev says that before he sums up the debate we must decide the question of the convocation of the next congress. He proposes a minimum of a month and a half to debate the draft law on legislation and about the same time to discuss the law on land use. Various speakers, including a Lithuanian delegate and Academician Sakharov speak about the need to adopt the laws on ownership and land before the end of the year. Deputies Sobchak, Sokolov, and others give their view on the holding of the congress and the adoption of various laws.

At 2135 GMT Gorbachev contradicts Sokolov. He says there is a great deal of contradiction in Sokolov's argument. He urges acceptance of the proposal of the Supreme Soviet.

At 2138 GMT voting is taken on the proposal of the Supreme Soviet for the congress to be held on 12 December. Gorbachev asks deputies to register, but two proposals are made: the first is to end the discussion—346 are for, 56 agains, and 8 abstain. Voting on the time limit of the second congress on 12 December is taken: 283 for, 98 against, 29 absentions—29, 410 in total. The decision to hold the 2d congress on 12 December is adopted. Gorbachev then asks the deputies whether they should continue. A 5-minute break is announced.

At 2144 GMT the relay resumes. Gorbachev reads Article 6 on combatting organized crime. He then speaks of the various laws which have been under discussion and of the extent to which they are ready for adoption.

At 2148 GMT Gorbachev asks the deputies to register. He asks if the deputies have any proposals for excluding proposals made by the Supreme Soviet and that only additions are intended, and lists the proposals to be discussed.

At 2151 GMT Deputy Stankevich speaks about the draft bill on leasehold relations and land which he says should be included in the agenda Deputy Alksnis poses the question of alternative military service. Deputy Bolderev adds the draft law on the basis of self-management and says it should be included in the agenda.

At 2153 GMT Lukyanov intercedes to say it was agreed that the above would be published only after the bill of property. Other deputies then make brief remarks on various points.

At 2202 GMT Deputy Shamikhin asks about the schedule for discussing economic self-sufficiency of the Baltic republics. Gorbachev responds that there is no need to repeat what has already been said.

At 2204 GMT Deputy Oliekas says the deputies know nothing about an appeal and decision on military service which was adopted. He says this should be reexamined. Gorbachev retorts that he was informed by Ryzhkov that 2,000 remarks were received by the government on this. He says if the remarks continue to accelerate it will be necessary to create a new apparatus.

2209 GMT

LD1411000289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2209 GMT on 13 November continues its recorded relay of the 13 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow. Deputy Medvedev warns that there could be an explosion in the country if there is a delay in the adoption of the laws. Deputy Alekseyev says there is perhaps no need to hurry with the law on property. He says we must adopt a law on leasehold relations before this congress finishes and gives his view on the schedule for the adoption of other laws. He speaks of the difficulty in adopting laws when large numbers of people are involved. At 2213 GMT Gorbachev proposes how the discussion should develop further. He asks if there are any remarks and puts the additions to the congress agenda to the vote and they are then voted on. Gorbachev says the amendments to the congress agenda have been adopted and he says that various laws have been proposed for addition into the congress agenda. Gorbachev says that a deputy has asked that Ryzhkov should discuss each of the points proposed.

At 2230 GMT Ryzhkov takes the floor. He says the package of laws are the basic laws which will determine the development of the state and thah such laws cannot be adopted in such a short time. Ryzhkov says he supports Alekseyev's proposal and asks that two laws be adopted—namely on leasing and taxation—before the end of this session and he gives his reasons for this. He says he does not understand Sakharov's proposal that certain laws should be in operation by 1 January.

At 2236 GMT Gorbachev gives his view on this and then asks who is in favor of including the question of property in the agenda. Deputies vote against draft laws on ownership and land being included in the congress agenda. A vote on including taxation on the congress agenda is held. It is rejected by 104 votes for and 267 against.

At 2250 GMT Gorbachev speaks of the need to intensify work to progress matters under discussion. He suggests putting forward Article 6 either for removal or improvement or for discussion. A deputy suggests holding a named vote on the matter.

At 2252 GMT Deputy Razumovskiy comes to the platform. He says that given the situation in which we find ourselves, who needs the inclusion of of this subject? Let us think about it, he asks. If we are honest, we do not find any profound argumentation in the views of deputies who have spoken on the subject.

At 2258 GMT Gorbachev speaks about how much is being discussed and clarified about the functioning of our political system. It is a painful discussion, he says, but it is taking place. In the discussion of the division of powers, the executive is defining its functions more fully. As to whether this process is coming to an end, he thinks that it is only unfolding, with regard to the new role of the party. The whole discussion corresponds to the needs of restructuring. He rejects the line put forward by Andreyeva and says that a significant part of the working class is concerned that an attempt is being made to reduce the role of the party. He says that powerful centrifugal forces are at work, and there is a need for a consolidating force. As far as the party is concerned, he can see no alternative for it having such a role. He regards it as a great error to base the discussion on the past mistakes of the party. He feels that if the matter is considered in any other way it would provoke unnecessary alarm in society. People want to see the party renewed and possessing new functions.

At 2307 GMT a deputy agrees that the party is the only force capable of tackling present day tasks, but feels that Article 6 does not reassure people if it is merely to assure the party of power no matter what, and recommends that a formulation is required which would confirm that such a role exists only if the party fulfills it in a worthy way. Gorbachev calls for a vote on whether to accept Boldarev's proposal for a vote. The proposal is accepted with 248 votes for, 104 votes against, and 39 abstentions. He then calls for a vote on whether to include on the congress agenda the matter of Article 6. Primakov says that registration is needed for a named vote. Gorbachev retorts that the deputies have already registered, but he is advised that a further registration is needed. 401 deputies are registered. He then asks for a vote. The result is: for, 198; against 173; abstentions 28. Gorbachev says two deputies did not vote. The proposal is rejected.

At 2315 GMT an Army marshal presents his view that a discussion of alternative military service should be included on the agenda. This is rejected by a vote of 44 for, 334 against, and 14 abstentions. The officer asks for a vote on including on the agenda a discussion of measures to combat crime. This is accepted by 264 votes for, 82 against, and 33 abstentions. Gorbachev clarifies that this was a vote on measures to combat organized crime.

At 2329 GMT Gorbachev calls for a vote on the proposed agenda for the congress of people's deputies. It is approved by 336 votes for, 31 against, and 16 abstentions. With this Gorbachev closes the session and the relay ends.

Ryzhkov Speech

LD1411001289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2230 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Speech by Nikolay Ryzhkov, Council of Ministers chairman, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session 13 November at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, we all, of course, wish to adopt decisions which would radically change the situation in the country, economic and social development. But, evidently, we must not become detached from reality, and we must not make mistakes of one kind or another. We must work out a line that would enable us to solve matters. These are the considerations I would like to voice: Well, I am voicing my personal view. I am convinced that this package of laws, the laws on ownership, the land, above all, and so forth—these are, of course, the fundamental laws which will determine the ways in which our state will develop. That is why, of course, I think that no one will, quite simply, understand us if we think that in the space of 2 weeks we will succeed in examining all these laws in the Supreme Soviet, to say nothing of discussing them with the people so that the people can at least make their views known. Then you have to process all that and submit it to the congress by 12 December—I think that no one, simply, will understand us. Can such laws be examined and passed in the space of 2 or 3 weeks if we regard them as the basic laws in the life of our country? That is why I am firmly convinced that it will not be serious to put forward these laws at present. It will not be serious. No one will understand us. Later on we ourselves will fail to understand what we are doing. That is the first thing.

The second thing is this: When the agenda was under discussion, and when, in this instance, point number two was under discussion, a point in which a task has been set to the effect that the government should report to the second congress about the tasks to improve the economy, about the measures to improve the economy, about the stage-by-stage development of the economic reform and the principled approaches toward the forming of the 13th 5-Year Plan, a question was, correspondingly, being put: How will these laws and the proposals the government will be making be reflected in this document?

I think that when elaborating these materials the government must present, according to the decision you have already made, we must, of course, draw upon the drafts now under debate, drafts which evidently will be debated until the end of this session. If we submitted them, if only in the first reading, in order to discuss them with the people, it would, I think, be a basis indeed for us to formulate our position during the second congress. Naturally, later on there will be certain changes following the final adoption of decisions in the Supreme Soviet, as been proposed, Mikhail Sergeyevich, but it will be a basis which will indeed make it possible for us to present our considerations to the second congress.

Mikhail Sergeyevich, this is the request I have: I support Comrade Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev's proposal. He took the floor here. In my view, this is what should be done, and this is what I would like to ask of the Supreme Soviet: That during this session, that is to say by its end, two laws should be adopted. The first is the law on leasing. The Decree on Leasing and Leasehold Relations has already been debated. It was submitted by the old Supreme Soviet, and this discussion took place.

Apart from that, it has, of course, incorporated all that is new that has emerged in the time that has elapsed since then. If we adopted a decision—that is to say if we adopted the law on leasing and leasehold relations—it would enable us, as of 1990, to broadly to develop this form of ownership and production relations in the entire national economy. After all, this process is now proceeding poorly. This is because numerous qeustions have not been properly resolved. This is the first thing.

The second thing is that I think that it should not be submitted either to the congress or to the next congress.

The second thing [as heard] is taxation. This question also was discussed. It seems to me that this law should also be passed by the end of this session in order to introduce both leasing and taxation as of 1 January 1990. The thing is we cannot now properly develop leasing in our country, since taxation questions are unresolved. These are two interconnected issues—leasing and taxation. If no decision on taxation is adopted, leasing cannot proceed. Leasing cannot develop without taxation. That is why I think that if we adopted these two laws we would indeed untie, as of 1 January, very many knots in our production relations and in our national economy. And as for the other main laws, including the regional financial autonomy, it must, as they say, be debated very seriously.

And then, comrades, I do not quite understand when Comrade Sakharov spoke here and said that the law should be adopted today so that it can come into force as of 1 January. But if it is adopted on 1 February, why can't it come into force as of 5 February? It can come into force when it is adopted. Comrades, it is naive to think that we can now adopt this law and 5 days later it will have turned everything around in our country. That is why I think that these laws must be worked through very seriously. But as for these two laws, I would, all the same, like to ask that a decision be adopted at the Supreme Soviet session.

13 Nov Session Recapped; Gorbachev Cited

LD1311215289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Excerpts] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy will today acquaint you with its work.

Today's working day began with discussion of the finished draft law on the judicial system. Deputy Yakovlev, on behalf of the Committee on Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, described the course of the work on this draft. He also replied to numerous questions from deputies. If one is to single out the new aspects of the draft law, then, above all, it is the introduction of the institution of jurors-assessors during the examination of the most complicated criminal cases involving crimes punishable by the death penalty or by the longest term of imprisonment.

Another new feature of the draft is the right to defense at all stages, even during the stages of being suspected of having commited the crime. It is envisaged that during this stage one can avail oneself of lawyers' help, too. Deputies passed the foundations of the legislation on the judicial system and the Supreme Soviet decision concerning the procedure of their implementation. Comrade Nishanov chaired this sitting.

Comrade Primakov was in the chair following the interval. He gave the floor to Kovalev, first deputy USSR foreign minister, to deliver a report on the draft law on the procedure for Soviet citizens leaving and entering the USSR. Comrade Kovalev spoke of the reasons behind the working out of this draft law, of the extent to which it corresponds with international norms and international agreements. Deputies Zasokhov and Burlatskiy also delivered reports on behalf of the Committee on International Affairs.

Well, let me remark that this draft law contains provisions which are completely new as far as our country is concerned—and it is not just one, but several such provisions. All of them make it considerably easier to leave for abroad, for any country, making such trips much more accessible than is currently the case.

Following discussion, the draft law was passed in the first reading and work on it will be continued in the relevant committees and commissions.

The evening session, devoted to convening the second Congress of People's Deputies, was chaired by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The floor was given to Comrade Lukyanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Comrades, on 10 November the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined a proposal concerning the date on which the second Congress of People's Deputies would be convened and the questions which it is planned to include in the agenda of the congress. Allow Comrade Lukyanov to report to us about the results of this discussion and about the decisions that have been made—decisions which we planned to submit for the Supreme Soviet's consideration. Please go ahead:

[Lukyanov] Comrade deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, during its 10 November sitting, instructed me to submit for your examination a proposal concerning the date of convocation of the second Congress of People's Deputies and concerning the questions which it is proposed should be included in the congress agenda.

As is known, regular sittings of the congress, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, held once a year. However, the first Congress of People's Deputies adopted a decision to hold the second congress during the fourth quarter of this year. Life confirms the correctness of this decision and demands the convocation of the congress, since much of what is being planned to submit for its examination can be neither postponed nor put aside.

It is connected, above all, with the necessity of adopting radical measures to improve the country's economy, its finances, and consumer market, the necessity of defining and consistently taking the steps whereby the reform is implemented in the course of the next 5-Year Plan.

The Supreme Soviet has already decided to submit for the congress' examination the changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution as concerns the questions of the electoral system. The congress will also have to adopt the standing orders and other acts connected with the activities of deputies. It will have to elect the USSR Committee for the Supervision of the Constitution and to tackle some other, urgent questions.

Thus the second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR should become a major event in the country's sociopolitical life. It should ensure an acceleration of the process of renewal of the socialist society, development of the political and economic reforms, a deepening of democracy and a harmonization of interethnic relations.

While examining the question concerning the dates of convening and holding the congress, the Presidium was guided by the fact that the work of this session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be completed, as we have indeed planned, not earlier than 25 November and may be somewhat later.

Subsequently, naturally enough, an interval in the work of deputies, small though it may be, will be needed. This is all the more the case since elections to local soviets are scheduled in two union republics, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Estonian SSR, for 10 December.

The next elections to local authorities will be held in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan on 24 December. Hence, the congress could work fruitfully in between these major political events to be held on the territory of the country.

Taking all these circumstances into account, the Supreme Soviet Presidium submits for your consideration a proposal that in accordance with Article 110 of the Constitution, the second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR should be convened on Tuesday 12 December 1989.

And now about the agenda of the congress. To a considerable extent it is predetermined by the decisions of the first Congress of People's Deputies and by the need to solve the urgent tasks of our society's development, particularly in the sphere of the economy. Proceeding from this it is proposed to submit for the consideration of the congress eight questions. They are named in the draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet which you have.

As for the first question, concerning the ratification of the credentials of the newly elected deputies, evidently it does not give rise to any doubts. Currently, new people's deputies of the USSR have been elected in five constituencies and it is an exclusive prerogative of the congress to ratify their credentials, in keeping with the Credentials Commission report.

The sound question on the agenda is, in essence, the central one. As you know—and it has already been repeatedly talked about at the Supreme Soviet session during the debate on the package of economic laws—our national economy has now turned out to be at a watershed stage. This stage must not be dragged out. We are moving away from the old, administrative-command economic management system. It is already inoperative in many areas. At the same time, the new system of functioning of the national economy has not, as yet, finally taken shape. It is merely its individual elements that are beginning to be brought into play. That is why it is necessary not only to work out the urgent measures to stabilize the economy, but also to define with precision the stages of further implementation of the reform. If we wish to speed up the transition to the economic methods of managing the national economy, a new approach toward the working out of the next 5-year plan targets themselves assumes a fundamental significance.

It can no longer be, as before, a plan of directives, a thorough working-out in detail of indicators in numerous sections and areas. It cannot be so, not only at the union level, but also at the levels of republics, regions, krays and oblasts. In determining the strategy for the development of our national economy, the new 5-year plan should be in line with the course aimed at the decentralization of management of the economy, at the expansion of the rights of enterprises and economic organizations and of regional, union, and autonomous republics.

Taking into account all these specific features, the agenda of the second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR proposes the inclusion of a report by the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to improve the economy, on stages of the economic reform, and on fundamental approaches to drawing up the 13th 5-year plan.

The third matter which it has been proposed be submitted for discussion by the congress relates to the amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution on the electoral system. As you will recall, on 24 October, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the draft of the relevant law and resolved to hand it on for examination by the Congress of People's Deputies, having in mind releasing the initiative of union and autonomous republics in dealing with all matters relating to the organization and conduct of elections, and also in determining the system and functions of bodies of state power in the republics and at the local level.

Problems pertaining to our fundamental law, as we know, are now being debated in a dively manner in society. Various proposals are being put forward, including highly radical ones. However, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has reached the unanimous conclusion that, at the level of the highest bodies of power, we should manifest as careful and respectful an attitude as possible to the Constitution, while striving for strict compliance with all its clauses.

Of course, during the processes of transformation underway in the country, we will approach anew many aspects of the life of our society. We will carry out active legislative work. On several most significant matters it will undoubtedly require a certain number of corrections to the Fundamental Law. Such corrections are envisaged, for example, by the laws on ownership, on land, and on leasing relations now being prepared. The adoption of the Law on Constitutional Supervision and certain other laws will also require such corrections. We must, of course, resolve what has truly reached a head, what is essential, what cannot be ignored. At the same time, each such law, brought into life by perestroyka, will represent a distinctive kind of building material for the creation of a new Fundamental Law of the country. We have set up a Constitutional Commission to draw it up, which, it is planned, will convene in the very near future. And this is understandable, comrades. Perestroyka and the transitional stage which we are going through are accompanied by a great mobility of social relations. And this mobility should be reflected in the current legislation and the relevant constitutional amendments.

As far as the new constitution as a whole is concerned, it is intended to consolidate far more stable and steady relations, and to consolidate them in earnest and for a long time. That is why only those amendments to the Constitution that we have discussed and adopted at the USSR Supreme Soviet—namely, amendments relating to the organization of the election system which open a path for implementing the next phase of political reform—is being submitted to the second Congress of People's Deputies. Draft standing orders for the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet are planned to be included as item four of the congress agenda. The approval of this document, which is being perfected now in committees and commissions of the chambers, will promote a radical improvement of the organization of the work of the country's supreme representative bodies of power. Before new standing orders have been adopted, the second congress can use the provisional standing orders for its meetings which were approved last May.

The discussion of draft laws regulating the status of USSR people deputies, the procedure for recalling them, and other issues related to deputies' activities is planned as point five of the congress' agenda. I think that the topicality of this point of the agenda does not require additional argumentation. Besides, this issue, like the previous one, follows from the direct request by the first Congress of People's Deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Issues six and seven of the proposed agenda of the congress are interconnected.

These include discussion and the adoption of a law on constitutional supervision in the USSR and the election of a corresponding committee envisaged in the Constitution. The commission set up by the previous congress to prepare this law reported to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the completion of its work, and after certain elaboration the prepared draft law will be sent to all the deputies.

Finally, it is envisaged to listen to reports by the commissions formed by the first congress, excluding two commissions for draft laws—the constitutional commission and that for preparing the law on constitutional supervision, as point eight of the agenda for the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

As is known, we have set up three more commissions. According to information available to us, two of them are completing their work now.

So, as you see, comrades, the proposed agenda for the second USSR Congress of People's Deputies is quite significant and large-scale. Recommending it, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium came out unanimously for ensuring that from the very start the congress' work should acquire as businesslike and organized a nature as possible, so that it be completed in 7 working days. Naturally, preparation for the congress will require a great deal of strenuous work. In the course of it, it will be important to preserve and increase all the positive features that were gained during the preparation for, and the holding of, the first Congress of People's Deputies and two sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet; to draw lessons from the mistakes and omissions that took place, and to prevent them from happening again. One sees it as of fundamental importance that deputies themselves, primarily, should prepare the congress, drawing on support from the apparatus of the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, research staff, and specialist of varius profiles. In this connection the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has formed a commission for preparing the congress, numbering 80 people. Its composition includes the chairmen of the presidia of the union republic supreme soviets, leaders of committees and commissions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet, USSR people's deputies representing all the main regions and social strata of the population, and representatives of the government.

The creation of such a working body will make it possible to unite the efforts of deputies belonging to the various groups of our corps of deputies, to coordinate their actions, and actively involve all the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet in preliminary drafting of the congress documents, which will be distributed in good time to all USSR people's deputies.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium expresses the hope that all members of the Supreme Soviet, all USSR people's deputies, will take an active and energetic part in the preparations for and the holding of the second Congress of People's Deputies which is destined to become an important landmark in the chain of the most significance political events of this year, and mark fresh frontiers in the further development of Soviet society ont he road of perestroyka.

[passage omitted: Deputy Fedorov on Article 6 of the Constitution, ensuring the ruling role of the party]

[Fedorov] There are cardinally true formulas for a state founded on the rule of law. One of them in particular states: It is especially important to note here that the Communist Party adopted a special resolution which acknowledges the concept of a state founded on the rule of law; so, one of the formulas states: It is forbidden to create one-sided advantages for any party political organization by constitutional or legal methods. The whole civilized world knows what a state founded on the rule of law is; it is understood unambiguously. But, unfortunately, in our country, since the adoption of that resolution, no progress has been observed in fulfillment of that concept.

For this reason, and not only for this reason, I would like to note yet another circumstance which is continually ignored. Article 6 of the Constitution and the vanguard leading role of the party are completely different things. They are not the same thing. The fact is, Article 6 appeared—let's think back, it is not a God-given article, it is a particularly Brezhnev-Suslovite invention which appeared for the first time in 1977, then similar articles were rubber stamped by the socialist countries which blindly followed them, but they're quicker at correcting their mistakes which we made and they repeated after us. They have started correcting these mistakes, the socialist countries, in particular Hungary and Poland, but we're lagging behind again. [passage omitted stating there is no such article in earlier constitutions, even Stalin's; Deputy Irena Andreyeva, a nonparty member, says Article 6 is irrelevant, the whole system is based on state ownership and has to be rebuilt brick-by-brick as Lukyanov says] [end recording]

[Rivinskiy] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who was in the chair, also took the floor.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Thus the deputies have raised the following question: that the convocation and holding of the second congress is firmly linked with the examination, without fail, of the questions society is waiting for. To give an example, as it were: Everyone here has made use of the necessity of examining during the second Congress of People's Deputies the draft law on ownership, the draft law on the land, and possibly the entire package which touches upon the whole society and upon the fundamental, so to say, foundations of our society and will define the thrust of further development not only of the economic reform, but also of the whole of society.

Well, if one now takes a practical look at how advanced these drafts are, in order to decide on what we are to do with the duration [of the second congress] then this is what things look like: Only today we examined the law on ownership in the commission you set up under my chairmanship and we have, perhaps, completed this lengthy period of discussions, rather heated discussions, having compiled the draft which it is possible, we think, to submit to the Supreme Soviet in order that the Supreme Soviet should decide on the date of its publication for nationwide discussion. It is our view, the commission's view, that we can go ahead with this draft. It will be finalized today, I think, by way of its individual and, so to speak, most important points being finalized and put into a certain form of words.

But, comrades, even if we examine this draft tomorrow, and if we deem it necessary that it be published for nationwide discussion, then how do you imagine it? After all, a month for discussion will, I think, not be enough. But, OK, let's assume that discussion lasts a month, plus working through, fine-tuning, to be tacked onto it following the discussion—all in all, I think that all this will spill over to a month and a half or even 2 months. Well, you weigh it up for yourselves, go ahead. As for me—let us think together. [murmurs from hall] And so you get a minimum of a month and a half, a minimum. One month for discussion and 2 weeks to introduce all the amemdments and then you can take it to the congress. Well, I say a month and a half as a minimum, and 2 months according to modest estimates, all in all. This is the first argument.

The law on the land is still ahead of us in its entirety. Moreover, it is a most fundamental question. Already at this stage—one of preliminary discussion—it has given rise to enormous interest both among deputies, in the deputies' corps, in the Supreme Soviet, and also among those who are taking part together with the deputies. All the scientific staff have now become thoroughly involved in all this discussion; economists, political scientists, legal experts, agrarian specialists, and so on. Finally, comrades, as far as society is concerned, the question of the land is a vital question indeed. First, there was the land and only then did we make our appearance upon it! That is why this is, so to speak, the fundamental question of our life. This, too, will surely require a minimum of 2 months. So, if I do not further [changes thought] because, for instance, a view is current that the draft law on leasing relations could be completed quickly. In the first place, we do have the groundwork for that. What I have in mind is that even before the examination of the decree on leasehold relations, already at that stage there had been large-scale discussion and somehow information and proposals were gleaned from society on this question, although in the months since that time life itself contributed very substantial amendments and we shall also have to do a fair bit of work. But, nonetheless, less so in this area.

I would not now like to go over to other laws, but the two main ones, concerning ownership and the land, require nationwide discussion and will require a minimum of 1 ½ months and basically 2 months of most strenuous work.

That is why if we set the second congress the task of dealing with these drafts we then must, of course, resolve the question of its duration. We then must decide on the question of rescheduling the duration. That is to say, we would have to change the proposal submitted by the Presidium. And, as for the congress, I am here being reminded, correctly so after all, that we decided during the first congress to hold a congress in the fall.

I now return to the arguments surrounding the question of the duration—it has been discussed. I must say we often discussed it at the Presidium. Members of the Presidium will confirm this. So, that is all that pertains to the congress.

We proceeded, nevertheless, from the fact that one should go to the second congress, adopt, and listen to the government on the measures. It has worked, and worked thoroughly on these measures, and is continuing now. Part of them have already entered the plan for next year. But after all, many questions, including the stages of the economic reform and the principled approach to the formation of the 13th 5-year plan, must be tied together in one knot.

We have proceeded from the fact that the government report should encompass urgent measures on the foundations for the stages of the economic reform with the aim of accelerating their implementation and, third, to form the principles on which we should approach the formation of the new 5-year plan. And these should already be different principles, in comparison with those on which we still, to this day, even formed the adopted plan for 1990 because we should foresee that the 13th 5-year Plan is a broad front of assimilation of new methods of running the whole economy. And that means self-sufficiency, that also means another system of taxation, that means other mutual relations, and that means a new functioning of the market, of wholesale trade, and so forth. That means it is already another plan.

In the formation of of the old plan, we had the main directions in mind and compiled detailed schedules. Now we cannot set the question in that way. Thus, we thought that they were very important questions which touch upon the present socioeconomic situation in the country. These questions should be discussed according to the government's report and immediate prospects should be opened up. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] The terms of the convocation of the congress was submitted to the voting. The majority of the deputies came out in favor of the second Congress of People's Deputies being convened on 12 December this year, as proposed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Then another interval was announced at the session and after the interval discussion began of the agenda itself for the forthcoming congress. These articles of the agenda—eight articles—were put to the vote. I remind you that they are set forth in the report by Comrade Lukyanov which the Supreme Soviet Presidium proposed. All these eight articles in the agenda were approved by a majority of votes. Then the deputies began to discuss the proposals which people's deputies had already submitted for the agenda during the course of the preent sitting. In particular, the question of including in the agenda draft laws on property, on land, on leasing, on taxation policy, on self-management, on socialist enterprise, and some other economic laws is being discussed now. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov asked for the floor in connection with the discussion of this question. And well, the work of the congress is still continuing and we will inform you about it in later broadcasts.

People's Deputies Congress To Convene 12 Dec

LD1311153989 Moscow TASS in English 153 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Second Congress of People's Deputies will open in Moscow on December 12, 1989. The decision was taken today by the USSR Supreme Soviet, charged by the Constitution to convene the supreme body of state authority in the country.

Lukyanov Stresses Economy in Agenda

LD1311202589 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet parliament during its afternoon session under the chairmanship of Mikhail Gorbachev decided to convene the second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR in Moscow on December 12, 1989, and approved recommendations concerning its agenda.

First Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov specifically identified in the proposed agenda the question of the radical measures to improve the economy and of the principles for elaboration of the thirteenth five-year-plan (1991-1995).

He said the Soviet Government's report to the Congress must define the strategy for the development of Soviet economy.

Many delegates pointed out that it is impossible to define a national economic strategy without adopting draft laws defining the legal basis for economic reform (on property, on land and land use and on leasing).

They raised the need for adopting them already at this session of parliament by reducing the time required for national discussion. The Second Congress would then be in a position to adopt the necessary changes to the Constitution without which these laws cannot operate.

In the end the opinion prevailed that the principal laws of economic reform cannot be adopted in haste, without a painstaking examination of all points of view. That is why the proposals to include in the agenda questions related to these draft laws were rejected.

A proposal was tabled to include in the agenda for the coming congress discussion of Article 6 of the USSR's Constitution about the leading role of the Communist Party in Soviet society. However, in a roll-call vote the proposal failed to gather the necessary majority of votes in parliament.

A proposal was also tabled today to discuss at the congress intensification of struggle against organised crime, a subject hotly debated lately in Soviet society. The item was included in the agenda by a majority vote.

The Supreme Soviet will continue its deliberations tomorrow.

Agenda for Upcoming Congress Published

PM1411114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text of USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Questions Submitted for Inclusion on Agenda of Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies]

[Text]

USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Questions Submitted for Inclusion on Agenda of Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies

The USSR Supreme Soviet **resolves:**

To recommend that the following questions be submitted for examination by the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies:

1. On recognizing the powers of USSR people's deputies elected since the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Report of the Credentials Commission.

2. On measures for the recovery of the economy and on stages of the economic reform and fundamental approaches to the elaboration of the 13th 5-Year Plan [1991-95]. Report of the USSR Council of Ministers.

3. On amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) on questions of the electoral system.

4. On Standing Orders of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

5. On draft legislative acts defining the status of people's deputies in the USSR and other questions connected with the activity of deputies.

6. On the draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR.

7. Election of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

8. On the intensification of the campaign against organized crime.

9. Reports of the commissions formed by the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

[signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow, Kremlin, 13 November 1989

Rogachev Describes Parliament Debates

LD1311143289 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The Soviet parliament has resumed debates after short term vacations taken by members of parliament to celebrate the 72nd anniversary of the socialist revolution in Russia. [passage omitted]

Swift action is needed to lay the foundations of a state governed by the law, lay the legislative groundwork for further political and economic reforms. Perestroyka slowdown, a gap between what's said and done, between the expectations of (?federal) results in renewing the country and aggrevating difficulties in (?all the) economic and social spheres have been arousing not merely popular discontent but organized protest strikes, demonstrations, and disobedience to the authorities. How to lead the country out of the crisis, what radical decisions are required for that? That's what parliament is busy with now. [passage omitted on bills before parliament and recent debates]

But while the debates have been underway the shelves in the shops have been getting emptier. What used to be available even yesterday is in short supply today. Inflation has been mounting. Life is getting harder and harder. Many people look back at the years of stagnation under Brezhnev as nearly the time of affluence. In such a plight it's easy to understand the parliamentarians, ready to work day and night to help lead the country out of the crisis and speed up perestroyka in society. Members of parliament are to adopt many such decisions this coming week.

A look at parliamentary debates by Yuriy Rogachev.

Law on Legal System Adopted Without Dissent

PM1411115789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and A. Stepovoy report: "Second Session of USSR Supreme Soviet. Law on Judicial System Adopted"]

[Text] The recess in the USSR Supreme Soviet plenary sittings lasted 10 days, but this was no vacation for our parliamentarians, however. There were, perhaps, even more intense debates and disputes in committee and commission sessions than at the chambers' joint sittings: As we know, only 2 working weeks remain until the end of the session and a whole package of highly important bills has to be examined.

So, separate sittings of the Supreme Soviet chambers will be held this week for the first time after a long break. The Soviet of Nationalities is to examine draft laws on the free development and equal use of the languages of the USSR's peoples and also on free national development for USSR citizens who live outside their national state formations or who lack such formations on USSR territory. The Soviet of the Union will discuss the draft law on changes and addenda to the USSR Law "On Citizenship of the USSR."

The Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Judicial System were examined at the 13 November morning plenary sitting chaired by R.N. Nishanov. People's Deputy A.M. Yakovlev was given the floor on behalf of the Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee. He described the bill in the form it has assumed after many addenda and amendments.

Despite the fact that these amendments were extremely substantial and the current bill is radically different from existing laws, a great many questions were put to A.M. Yakovlev. Thus, People's Deputies I.P. Zelinskiy, F.M. Burlatskiy, Yu.K. Sharipov, A.A. Sobchak, A.D. Sakharov, and others indicated that the new legal act must reflect the juridical innovations necessitated by life itself—the introduction of trial by jury, lawyers' involvement in a citizen's defense from the initial stages of an investigation, and the creation of specialized courts (family courts, courts dealing with questions of the press, patent courts, juvenile courts, and so on).

People's Deputy Yu.Yu. Boldyrev reminded the session participants that there are in our history many tragic examples of how all manner of "triumvirates" and "special meetings" wreaked arbitrary rule and ruined the destiny of millions of people by assumed the court's mantle. In view of this, he stressed, we must insert a clause in the proposed bill guaranteeing that no one will ever be able to appropriate the functions of the legitimate court organs.

Peoples' Deputy V.I. Kirilov raised the question of judges of various levels holding party membership during their term in office. Certainly, A.M. Yakovlev agreed, this is a serious question; however, it clearly ought not to be considered in this document but in other documents. And most likely not even during this session's period of work. People's Deputy V.M. Desyatov pointed out that the bill under consideration cannot be separated from the draft law on legal procedure since both these documents originally contained a number of contradictory provisions requiring mutual coordination. People's Deputies A.M. Obolenskiy, S.V. Belozertsev, I.A. Andreyeva, N.I. Ignatovich, and A.V. Oborin also voiced their viewpoint on the question under discussion.

Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, gave the session participants explanations concerning the bill.

At the suggestion of People's Deputy V.A. Martirosyan, each of the amendments was put to the vote. As a result the session participants resolved: to provide for the creation of specialized courts, to admit defense counsel to the initial stages of an investigation, and to entrust the examination of criminal cases for particularly serious crimes to trial by jury (collegium of people's assessors). Individual editorial amendments were also adopted.

The chairman put to the vote the Draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Judicial System as a whole.

No deputies voted "against"—a rarity in the work of this Supreme Soviet. Some 389 members of the parliament voted "for" and there were 8 abstentions. No one objected either to the adoption of a resolution on the procedure for enacting the new fundamentals of legislation on the judicial system.

After a short recess the session, chaired by Ye.M. Primakov, began discussing the draft law on the Procedure for Soviet Citizens' Exit From and Entry Into the USSR.

At the 13 November evening plenary sitting it was proposed to examine the question of convening the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and also the preliminary agenda for its work. The importance of the decision regarding the dates of the new congress for the work of the second Supreme Soviet session and its committees and commissions is obvious.

The session has a packed schedule. That is why this week the plenary sittings will be extended through 15 November, and next week all 5 working days will be allotted to them.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Draft Entry-Exit Bill

LD1311150189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1326 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Nov (TASS)—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The dismantling of the remains of the "Iron Curtain" will be made possible by a law on entering the USSR, a draft of which was adopted by the Soviet parliament today at its first reading.

It brings Soviet legislation into line with the Vienna accords.

Introducing the bill to the deputies, Anatoliy Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, noted that quite a lot has already been done in the Soviet Union to implement the part of the Vienna document that relates to entry and exit. The time taken to examine citizens' applications for private trips abroad has been reduced, the procedure for filling in the forms has been simplified, and many persons who were previously not allowed to leave the country will be allowed to apply.

In his report Kovalev drew attention to the fact that the bill contains a number of provisions that have hitherto been absent from Soviet legislation. Thus, exit restrictions on grounds of state secrecy must not remain in force for more than 5 years. Citizens will be warned of the existence of such restrictions when taking up employment. Contrary to the rules which apply at present, relatives of persons wishing to go abroad for permanent residence will not have a right of veto. The only obstacles will be unfulfilled alimony obligations.

It brings Soviet legislation into line with the Vienna accords.

Introducing the bill to the deputies, Anatoliy Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, noted that quite a lot has already been done in the Soviet Union to implement the part of the Vienna document that relates to entry and exit. The time taken to examine citizens' applications for private trips abroad has been reduced, the procedure for filling in the forms has been simplified, and many persons who were previously not allowed to leave the country will be allowed to apply.

In his report Kovalev drew attention to the fact that the bill contains a number of provisions that have hitherto been absent from Soviet legislation. Thus, exit restrictions on grounds of state secrecy must not remain in force for more than 5 years. Citizens will be warned of the existence of such restrictions when taking up employment. Contrary to the rules which apply at present, relatives of persons wishing to go abroad for permanent residence will not have a right of veto. The only obstacles will be unfulfilled alimony obligations.

The departure of Soviet citizens to live permanently abroad is possible only if the foreign state agrees to their entry. This provision defends the interests of Soviet people, because Western countries now have a stricter approach toward allowing entry. In this connection Anatoliy Kovalev recalled that a similiar provision was entered in the final document of the Vienna meeting, that is, at the insistence of the United States, Canada, and a number of other Western countries.

Although the bill is revolutionary for Soviet society (some journalists are comparing it in its radicalism with the new exit rules introduced recently in the GDR) it nevertheless has not completely satisfied some parliamentarians. Some proposals expressed during today's debate are probably not very realistic. For example, this one: to drop restrictions on entering the USSR on grounds of state security. Nevertheless, it has been decided to weigh each of them once more when work on the document in the parliamentary committees and commissions is completed.

Problems not connected with the text of the law were also discussed. For example, the number of those leaving the USSR temporarily will grow many times over according to deputies' forecasts. This means, it was said at the session, that it is necessary to expand the department issuing passports for abroad, to introduce new flights and trains, and to find hard currency for exchange, which is particularly difficult on the country's present economic conditions.

Lukyanov Chairs Supreme Soviet 14 Nov

LD1411075789 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

A joint session of the Soviet parliament's two chambers is chaired today by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The session adopted a statement on the birth centenary of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The parliament is to decide the question of publishing for nationwide discussion the draft law on ownership, which was approved in the first reading on October 16-17.

Today's session also plans to adopt a declaration on the complete political exoneration of peoples forcibly resettled during the Second World War.

Yefimov Views Decision To Publish Ownership Bill

LD1411114989 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—By TASS News Analyst Igor Yefimov:

The parliamentary working group headed by Mikhail Gorbachev has completed the elaboration of the text of an ownership bill.

Introduced by the government at the beginning of October, the bill is expected to become the "supporting structure" of a new model of the Soviet economy.

The first reading of the bill in parliament was a stormy one. Many differing opinions emerged, and it was decided to refer it for consideration to a working group set up for this purpose.

The principal meaning of the future law is to loosen the state's monopoly on ownership. The state now owns, according to various estimates, from 80 to 90 per cent of property (the rest is the collective property of collective farms and, of late, cooperatives).

The bill states the legal equality of various forms of ownership—state, joint-stock, collective, personal and so on.

A keen discussion on the problem of private property is under way both in and out of parliament. There are people who are convinced that without private property the country will not get out of its current economic difficulties.

The advocates of this point of view also call for legislation that recognises the labour force as a commodity, to pave the way for the hiring of workers by individual operators.

This point of view encountered numerous objections. Some people in parliament and in the press believe that legalising private property would virtually signify the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

In response to a categorical statement by one parliamentarian that "only private property will save us" Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov exclaimed, "but did you take counsel with the people?"

This is precisely what the Supreme Soviet decided today—to take counsel with the people, and not only on some particular aspect of the bill but on the entire document. It was decided to publish it for a nationwide discussion.

It is too early to predict when the bill may become law. Proposals by some impatient people to bring it up for consideration at the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies (which is to open on December 12) did not get support from the Supreme Soviet members.

Moreover, there are ever louder voices that such a basic law should be adopted through a referendum, and not by a parliament or even by the Congress of People's Deputies.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Statement on Nehru

LD1411094389 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet parliament has called Jawaharlal Nehru, whose birth centenary is being observed today, "the architect of the new India".

The Supreme Soviet adopted a special statement stressing that Jawaharlal Nehru's high prestige was recognised not only in the Soviet Union, but in the world community as a whole.

The document notes that Nehru's idea that humanity is a single, interconnected and interdependent entity is close to the Soviet people. His efforts to affirm the five principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations—Pancha Shila—meet fully the tasks of contemporary world policy.

Jawaharlal Nehru made a weighty contribution to the concept of the Nonaligned Movement. India was one of its leaders during Nehru's lifetime.

The statement notes Jawaharlal Nehru's notable contribution to the development and consolidation of friendly relations between the USSR and India. These relations grew to be an important factor of peace and stability in Asia and in the entire world.

These goals are served by the Delhi Declaration adopted by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi, which offered the world a programme for building a non-violent nuclear free world.

Political & Social

Vorkuta Strike Committee Session Held

PM1311134189 Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Nov 89 p 2

[Own correspondent A. Petrov dispatch under rubric "Topical Theme": "Rallies and Meetings Being Held"]

[Text] Vorkuta—N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has appealed to the Vorkuta miners' collective to end their strike and show wisdom and a sense of civil responsibility in order to ensure that Soviet people have normal living conditions. The appeal says that on 17 November the government will examine the progress made in carrying out the well-known resolution of the country's Council of Ministers, which specifies measures to improve the miners' working and living conditions. The appeal of the head of the government is now being discussed in miners' collectives. After an individual ballot, the greater part of the "Komsomolskaya" mine collective supported an end to the strike. The miners have already started mining and dispatching the coal. "Zapolyarnaya" and "Vorkutinskaya" mines are continuing to work at full capacity. Coal is being mined and partially dispatched at "Ayach-Yaga" mine. Meetings and rallies are continuing at other mines.

An expanded session of the city strike committee was held yesterday in the House of Political Enlightenment. Strike committee representatives announced to those gathered that support for the strikers is expected from a number of foreign organizations. Representatives from the "Severnaya" mine expressed their disapproval of interference from foreign organizations in the Vorkuta miners' affairs. A diesel locomotive driver, V. Sokolov, stated that the miners will receive no support from railroad workers if they look for help from abroad in the struggle for their rights. However, some representatives spoke in support of foreign assistance.

Representatives of the "Vorgashorskaya" mine strike committee announced that they have decided to leave the coal miners' trade union and form their own independent trade union. The announcement lodged complaints against the central press, particularly against TRUD, which is allegedly creating incorrect public opinion about the striking miners. It refers to a TASS report about the earnings of mineworkers at the "Khalmer-Yu" mine, where the figure mentioned was indeed too high. TRUD informed its readers about this incident and gave the real figure for earnings. This is well known to the "Vorgashorskaya" miners' strike committee. Such a position, when certain facts that contribute to the fuelling of passions are overstressed, causes bewilderment.

V. Koryagin, a mine installation worker and duty officer at the strike committee, has reported that the participants in the conference decided by a majority of votes to continue the strike until 17 November, that is until the progress in implementing Government Resolution No 608, adopted this summer at the miners' demand, is discussed in the presence of the USSR Council of Ministers chairman with the participation of coalfield labor collective representatives.

Striking Vorkuta Miners Set Demands

PM1311152589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Viktor Filipov report under rubric "Direct Line": "Step Toward Dialogue"]

[Text] Vorkuta—On Sunday 12 November only 2 of the 13 mines—the "Zapolyarnaya" and "Vorkutinskaya"—were dispatching coal to consumers. The collectives of four mines had a day off in accordance with a schedule compiled prior to the strike, the remaining seven collectives were carrying out repair work.

On the same day a delegation of the coordinating council left for Moscow. This is a new action group organization in Vorkuta which was born out of the strike. The point is that the city workers (strike) committee has withdrawn its confidence in the apparatus of the party city committee [gorkom] and refuses to cooperate with it. However, coordinated action is vitally important in Vorkuta today.

"Our coordinating council is to act as a buffer and to enjoy the confidence of both sides involved in the conflict," N. Karelin, the council's chairman and assistant chief engineer at "Zapolyarnaya" mine believes. "It was set up at a joint session of representatives of the mines' party committees. We discussed the situation in the city and we believe that it can be stabilized by means of a constructive dialogue between representatives of the workers movement on the one hand and the government on the other hand. According to the general opinion, a key factor in this dialogue must be questions of maintaining the northern supplements during all job changes, the abolition of the so-called statute on discipline, invocation of the liability of persons who are to blame for the lack of information and distortion of facts about the progress of the implementation of the USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 608, and so forth. If these questions are tackled, it will be possible to talk in earnest about ending the strike."

The strikers' first step in response to the proposal of N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to engage in dialogue has been taken. What will the next step be?

Miners Face 'Disapproval'

LD1311211989 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] November 13 TASS—Zapolyarnaya mine, the only of the 13 mines of Vorkutaugol amalgamation is now operating and supplying coal to consumers.

The mine's collective supports the demands of the Vorkuta miners but deems it inexpedient to press for their fulfilment through strike. Disapproval of the striking miners is growing. Consumers of Vorkuta coal accuse them of collective egoism.

From the beginning of the current month, Vorkutaugol amalgamation has lagged 400,000 tonnes behind the production quota.

Coke Output at Cherepovets 'Becoming Critical'

LD1311202989 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Cherepovets, Vologda region, Central Russia, November 13 TASS—The declining output of coke at the Cherepovets metallurgical complex is becoming critical. A. Afanasyev, chief engineer of the chemical-recovery carbonisation enterprise, told TASS.

Affected by the long-drawn-out strike at mines in Vorkuta, northern Russia, the enterprise is short of about 3,000 tonnes of coke a day.

"The output of coke will drop by half unless coal deliveries from Vorkuta are resumed in full within a week," Afanasyev said.

"Coal deliveries from the Kuznetsk basin have doubled, and this helps a great deal. Still the losses of Pechora coal cannot be fully made up for. What is more, the reserves of coal at the Cherepovets metallurgical complex were exhausted during the mining stoppages in summer. It took the enterprise eight weeks to remedy the situation as the technological chain was disrupted."

"The consequences might be even worse now. The shortage of coke results in a decrease in the output of metal. Trainloads of coke are on the way to Cherepovets from the Altai and the Karaganda region. But there are no facilities at the complex for loading coke into blast furnaces directly from railway cars, so the loss of time and, consequently, decrease of metal output cannot be avoided," Afanasyev said.

"Workers' wages are decreasing," Afanasyev went on. "Every day metallurgists telephone the miners' strike committee, but the miners' answer remains the same: Mining operations will not be resumed until delegates of the strike miners meet the government in Moscow on November 17".

Workers at the Cherepovets complex believe that the miners' demands should be thoroughly analysed and fulfilled, but a strike is not a way to resolve problems, especially as winter approaches.

Donetsk, Vorkuta Miners Communicate on Strikes

LD1411033489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] As reported from Donetsk Oblast, hardly a day goes by that the strike committees of the Donbass coal associations have not received telegrams from Vorkuta. Over the course of the past week the texts have been exactly the same: The talks with the minister of the coal industry did not in fact take place; Shchadov arrived in Vorkuta without the authority to solve specific questions; pressure on the workers' committee has been stepped up, we urgently request you to do what you can to help.

The strike committee of the Makeyevugol Association sent the following in reply to the Vorkuta pit strikers: In order to solve questions of an economic nature, the Makeyevka strike committee has been fighting and continues to actively fight, but on several occasions we have gone over USSR Council of Ministers Decision No 608 and the coal industry minister's instruction No 115, and also reviewed the fulfilment of them. It has to be said before that there is a point in the protocol which would necessitate using such a threatening weapon as a strike. But you are requesting support for political demands that we have refused from the outset. In what specific way can and should our assistance be expressed? And no one will give the coal industry minister, who has come to visit you, the authority to solve questions which only the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet have the right to solve. About the second question, on pressure on the workers' committee, here we are definintely in solidarity with you and are opposed to any kind of pressure or infringement on the rights of members of the strike committee. However, at the present stage, there is no point in overstating the role of the workers' committees in such a serious question as political perestroyka in the country. And it is hardly worth biting off more than one can chew, says the reply of the Donetsk miners to the miners of Vorkuta.

10 Nov Kishinev Violence, Aftermath Detailed

PM1311161789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent Eduard Kondratov report under rubric "Direct Line": "Events in Moldavia"]

[Text] Kishinev—Stunned by the dramatic events of the evening of 10 November, when the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] building was subjected to a mass hooligan attack, all Kishinev awaited Sunday in a state of tension and alarm. At a rally held Saturday night after the attack on the MVD, people's deputies and favorites of the People's Front of Moldavia hotheadedly called for "all Moldova" [deliberate use of historical name] to assemble in Kishinev Sunday. That is why it was natural that on Saturday heavy aircraft carrying more than 2,000 internal troops from the USSR MVD headed by Lieutenant General V. Dubinyak started landing at Kishinev Airport. "We have not come to break up peaceful demonstrations, merely to assist the Moldavian militia in the event of mass disturbances," Major General Ye. Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR MVD Internal Forces Political Administration, would say later that afternoon.

However, the weekend passed off quietly. It was only in the actual city center, around the monument to Stefan the Great, that people gathered—in their hundreds Saturday, and numbering 2,000-3,000 Sunday. They read out inflammatory, antigovernment leaflets and placards, chanted slogans, and heatedly discussed everything currently being talked about in Moldavia. But even these heated discussions did not cause a breach of the peace in the city.

Perhaps the reason for that lay not just with the news of the arrival of the specialized troops, but also above all with the entire range of preventive measures taken by the government. During the day and throughout Saturday evening there were special broadcasts on republic television; an appeal to the people from the republic's leadership was read out; M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke on television; and the events were discussed in detail and viewers' questions answered by the leaders of the city and the republic's law-enforcement organs.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has called the actions of the republic's People's Front a serious destabilizing factor that is again exacerbating the situation. At the same time, USSR People's Deputy I. Khadyrke, chairman of the People's Front of Moldavia Executive Committee, denied that the People's Front was involved in organizing the mass disturbances.

Incidentally, these were now simply illegal, since a special Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers resolution has banned any rallies or demonstrations in Kishinev unless special permission is obtained. The State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration has now closed all approaches to the republic's capital, sales of liquor in the city have been suspended, and teenagers have to be off the streets by 2000 hours.

These measures are of fundamental importance. It has already been established that, first, many drunks, and second, very many youngsters and teenagers, took part in the 10 November events. They were hardly aware of the essence of the slogans which the riot organizers used to incite them against the militia.

Yes, there is an opinion that the riots were no accident. This is what journalists heard from Moldavian SSR and USSR MVD political administration officials during a meeting at the press center set up at the Moldavian SSR MVD. A great deal was said to the effect that the barbarous action was preplanned and carefully prepared and that the youngsters' picketing of the MVD building was a provocation aimed at enraging the militia and inciting them to use force. That, regrettably, is what happened. Later the main role in the events was played by blatantly criminal elements which obviously had a pressing need to get into the building and gain access to weapons and card indexes. Only the MVD workers' restraint and composure prevented them from using weapons when dozens of rioters burst into the hall, when firecrackers were going off underfoot, and petrol bombs exploding in the offices. And it was fortunate that at that time there were no casualties.

Totaling its losses, the Moldavian SSR MVD reported that 142 people had been injured that evening, 36 had been hospitalized, and 4 are in a serious condition. It is harder to calculate accurately how many attackers were hurt.

Could that evening's events have gone differently? Was the militia too hasty in taking "resolute measures"? Why were the law-enforcement organs totally unable to anticipate the development of events? Unfortunately, the journalists received no satisfactory answers to these questions. For 6 months now Moldavia's law-enforcement organs have been trying but have nonetheless been unable to find out just who is constantly jeopardizing the lives of hundreds and thousands of young people and teenagers who have been incited by somebody (but whom?).

Sunday the emergency state commission headed by I. Kalin, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, was hard at work all day. It task is to rapidly analyze the situation and coordinate the actions of all organs responsible for the sociopolitical situation in the republic. Sunday also saw a session of the People's Front Council, which helped to stabilize the situation over the weekend. However, one cannot fail to recall that some of the front's leaders have continued to publicly insist that the leaders of the Moldavian Communist Party and the republic's Council of Ministers resign, urging recourse to the method of a general political strike which they themselves had previously condemned.

Sunday evening hundreds of thousands of television viewers watched a lengthy interview given by S. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

Shilov Comments on Demonstration

LD1311223589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1845 GMT on 13 November, in its "Interior Ministry Report" program, carries a 15-minute interview granted by Deputy USSR Internal Affairs Minister Ivan Fedorovich Shilov to correspondent V. Bakarinov. The interview takes place in the studio and deals mainly with the 7 November Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary celebrations, which Shilov describes as being generally "orderly." He cites the example of a Moscow meeting of 30,000 people in Olimpiyskiy sports complex, which, he says, was held in an orderly fashion. He points out, however, that in other areas of the country there were breaches of the peace and actions against state symbols.

Turning to events in Kishinev, Shilov continues: "On 7 November, a group of extremists—just as military equipment was moving to the starting point of a local parade—barred the way. Naturally, this is a violation of public order, and details of the public law-and-order enforcement service detained several lawbreakers.

"On 10 November, a group of extremists, carrying placards and banners, the contents of which were plainly provocative, appeared outside the building of the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry. A warning was given that they should disperse and stop their hooligan acts, but the crowd did not react because it included people who were inebriated. Some persons, active violators of public order, were detained. Officers of the internal affairs bodies and personnel of the internal troops were pelted with stones, bottles, Molotov cocktails, and metal fragments. Several Molotov cocktails were thrown, and a service car was burned out, while several fires broke out inside the Internal Affairs Ministry building.

"The situation was tricky, and it got so bad that special means had to be used: this meant the use of rubber truncheons and also special means like Cheremukha [gas]. USSR Supreme Soviet deputies tried to pacify the crowd, but as if nothing had happened, the crowd continued its excesses, and to attack and mount assaults on the building of the Internal Affairs Ministry. The result was 215 people received various injuries—this was personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs itself, loyal forces of the internal troops, some of them in grave condition...."

Bakarinov interrupts to ask: "But why such a large number of victims? Did you use arms, or what?"

Shilov, concluding the interview, responds: "Given the situation, with the attack on the state public building, we had the right to use arms. But here they were used to prevent innocent people suffering."

Earthquake Hits Naberzhnyye Chelny

LD1111134389 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Naberezhnyye Chelny November 11 TASS—An earthquake occurred here at 08.22 today.

According to preliminary date, the magnitude of the jolt was 5-6 points at the epicentre. There was no damage or loss of life.

This is already the third earthquake in the area over the past half-year.

NKAO Troops Take on Role of 'Buffer'

LD1311142289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 13 November broadcasts a report from special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. Omelchenko reports that the weekend passed relatively quietly, although shots were fired in a few NKAO rayons and in one Armenian rayon. In Lachinskiy rayon, a homemade explosive device was discovered by the internal affairs troops.

Omelchenko says: "On the approach road where traffic now goes through Stepanakert in the direction of Shursha and two other NKAO rayons—it is a diversion route because here, more than a month ago a bridge was blown up—a group of Stepanakert inhabitants has taken upon itself the task of checking the identity of those travelling past." The group failed to inform the commandant's office about its actions and this is now causing friction, says Omelchenko. Omelchenko says the commandant of the Mardakertskiy rayon has reported that his men were called out by the chairman of an Azeri state farm who had heard shots emanating from an Armenian hamlet. The shots turned out to be in celebration of a wedding. Omelchenko wishes that these were the only kind of shots to be fired in the NKAO.

He says in conclusion: "Despite operational actions, the internal troops are so far not in a position, in my view, to effectively stop unlawful acts at their onset. They are retraining and calming people's passions but, in general, are so far in some kind of expectant state. They have taken on the role of a kind of buffer between the Armenian and Azeri population of Nagorno-Karabakh."

Supreme Soviet To Hear Report on NKAO

NC1411104489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Dear radio listeners, the USSR Supreme Soviet has decided to hear the report of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] during its evening session tonight.

8-10 Nov Transcaucasus Incidents Detailed

PM1411165589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "Attempts To Destabilize Situation"]

[Text] Labor collectives and village meetings in the Transcaucasus are demanding that the tension between two fraternal peoples who for centuries have lived as neighbors in peace and harmony be ended as soon as possible and that a decisive stop be put to the intrigues of agents provocateurs and rabble-rousers who are trying to destabilize the situation in the region. However, forces opposed to these processes are still active.

On 8 November, S.S. Davtyan and A.V. Melikbekyan, inhabitants of Idzhevanskiy Rayon, died while attempting to blow up the memorial to "Friendship Between the Peoples of the Transcaucasian Republics," which stands on the border between Kazakhskiy Rayon in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and Idzhevanskiy Rayon in the Armenian SSR, with the aid of a homemade explosive device. S.S. Bodolyan, a resident of Idzhevan City, and A.A. Kozlitkin, originally of Kirovograd City (Ukrainian SSR), were injured and hospitalized.

The Kazakhskiy Rayon Public Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings and the explosion incident is being investigated.

The situation in Lachinskiy Rayon has deteriorated once more. On 8 November militia and troop detachments were repeatedly fired on here. On the same day a vehicle in which one of the detachments was traveling ran over an explosive device. Two people, the driver and the chief of the local branch of the communications center, who was traveling in the vehicle, were injured. They are currently in Lachin hospital. Another homemade explosive device was found not far from the scene of the incident.

On 9 November a freight truck, a ZIL-130, was blown up after running over an explosive device on a country road not far from the village of Dzhagazur. Five people were injured and taken to the rayon hospital. One of them, Kh.I. Aliyev, is in a serious condition. The vehicle was totalled.

Despite measures taken, instances of civil aviation helicopters being used to convey explosive substances and firearms from Armenia to regions of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] are continuing. For example, on 10 November explosive materials were found during a search of an MI-8 helicopter flying from Yerevan to Martuni which had made a forced landing at Agdam Airport. In addition to the two crew members, 11 other people were found on board the helicopter.

It has been ascertained during the preliminary investigation that the owners of the freight in which the explosive materials were found are the brothers Avitisyan—Valeriy and Aram—who live in Yerevan.

The Agdamskiy Rayon Public Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings in this case. Members of the republic KGB are taking part in the investigation.

Yerevan Rail Operations 'Clogged', Struggling

904H0041D Moscow GUDOK in Russian 31 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by S. Babayan: "Losses Increase Due to... Mismanagement"]

[Text] Yerevan. Thus far, tension at the Yerevan Division of the Transcaucasian Railroad has not subsided. Following more than a month of shortage of loaded cars, all stations are literally clogged with them, and unloading has become political in nature—the store shelves have been empty thus far, and warehouses and retail storage facilities do not have an abundance of goods and foodstuffs either. As many cars as possible should be released as fast as possible, and freight must be shipped out of the stations in order to accomplish a turnaround and change the situation.

Meanwhile, there are many problems with unloading. The shortage of fuel and motor fuel is still being felt. The lines at the gas stations are as long as they have been. The fueling of trucks is done "off the rail car" because the tank farms have not received enough gasoline yet. However, the shortage of fuel is not the only cause of many troubles at present.

Recently, unloading has come close to 2,000 cars a day. However, this is not enough either. What is the situation at the stations of the Yerevan Junction? Is there an opportunity to unload the cars faster? Secretary of the party bureau of the Yerevan station N. Ter-Karapetyan discussed this.

"The level of unloading is increasing with every passing day both at the station and in the division as a whole. We hope to exceed the 2,000 mark which the division has not achieved in its entire history. However, the circumstances call for more; the number of abandoned trains for our republic on our neighbors' [railroads] is still high. At the same time, dozens of representatives of industrial enterprises and organizations come every day to us, to the party bureau, to the group of people's control with complaints about commercial defects. Frequently, the arriving freight has been spoiled; machinery has been cannibalized for parts, and foodstuffs are at times unfit for use.

"We have to set up numerous commissions which sort out every case and invite experts. The cars sit while the losses are determined and documented. Hence a substantial share of above-the-norm idle time. What are we to do? We cannot do without protocols. Here is another question: Where are we to put strings of cars with spoiled foodstuffs, manufactured goods, machine tools and equipment stripped beyond recognition, and transportation vehicles? After all, some cars sat within abandoned trains for almost 1.5 months due to the recent blockade.

For example, cars with powdered milk dispatched from Odessa on 8 August arrived at our stations only days ago. The powder turned out to be caked and absolutely unfit for use. Chief of the Refrigerator Section A. Makarenko sent 27 telegrams to various echelons in Azerbaijan and to central organs during the forced idle time, and all to no avail. This is why we are now solving the problem of how to destroy dozens of tons of powdered milk.

At present, hardly any car fails to be unloaded at our station within the time allotted. Volunteers from the enterprises of the city are a tremendous help. Teams of workers from the Research and Production Association Nairit, the Zakavkazmebel Production Association, and others report for unloading literally every day. At present, railroad employees need such support badly.

A particularly alarming situation has emerged at another station of the Yerevan Junction, Karmir Blur.

Chief Engineer of the Loading and Unloading Section Sh. Khumarayan said: "Our station is congested to the limit. There is no space to put a single container, let alone unload an entire car of them onto the lot. Where are we to receive them and how? The entire management of the division rather than just me is now concerned about this. The point is that the lots are jammed with containers with the effects of refugees from Azerbaijan. Many of them have just found shelter, and, apparently, they have nowhere to put their effects."

On occasion, containers have to be unloaded right onto the tracks or immediately onto trucks. It is good if it works out; this saves time and, most importantly, space.

Be that as it may, 2,000 cars a day have got to be unloaded in the division. Under the current circumstances, this level as well must be exceeded—there is no other way out.

Situation in Leningrad Port 'Extremely Serious'

904H0041C Moscow GUDOK in Russian
31 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by V. Yurasov: "Losses Increase Due to... the Lack of Control"]

[Text] Leningrad. More than 2,500 tons of freight (of which one-third are necessities) have accumulated in the Sea Port of Leningrad.

A tremendous amount of containers with the same freight has been delayed at the Leningrad Junction for a long time. Thus, at the station Leningrad-Freight-Vitebskiy, 20 trains with containers are parked, the number of containers exceeding 1,500. Another more than 1,000 containers unclaimed by the recipients of freight are at the station Leningrad-Freight-Moskovskiy, about 300 are at the station Leningrad-Freight-Finlyandskiy, and about 600 at other stations of the Leningrad Junction.

These statistics were given at the recently held extraordinary meeting of the permanent commission of the Leningrad Soviet for transportation links. The situation which has emerged in Leningrad was described as extremely serious and in need of an immediate resolution.

Greater than usual streams of imported foodstuffs and manufactured goods have been reaching the Leningrad Junction, especially in recent weeks. Unfortunately, transportation employees have not managed to organize the operation of the transloading conveyer properly. The system of centralized planning has not worked out either: Initial freight handling schedules sent to the seamen, railroad personnel, and motor vehicle transportation were not drawn up with the bulk delivery of freight in mind.

Thus, according to the new schedule, motor transport enterprises must furnish 120 trucks daily to the station Leningrad-Freight-Vitebskiy for carrying containers. At a maximum, 90 to 100 trucks arrive here. As a result, 160 to 180 containers a day are shipped out instead of 240.

On top of it, it has come out that there is not enough freight-handling equipment at this station, and that available frequently breaks down. This was the case on 26, 27, and 28 October when the transloading of containers was reduced to a minimum due to equipment breakdowns. The employees of Leningrad-Vitebskiy Division were compelled to appeal to the MPS with a request to allocate additionally at least three Valmet or Kalmar-brand lifts.

Under the emergency situation which has developed the seamen, railroad, and motor transport employees are still trying to straighten things out. As Deputy Chief of Leningrad-Vitebskiy Division V. Sokolov stated, at the sea port the transloading of 100 percent of potatoes arriving from Poland on the principle "ship to car" has been arranged. Facilities for the transloading of containers have been expanded.

However, this is definitely not enough. The most paradoxical point is that the recipient-organizations which are the destination of the freight are showing no concern as masters at all. Railroad and motor vehicle transport employees are prepared to work late not only on regular days but also on days off. In turn, the enterprises of Leningrad receive containers as a rule only until 1700, and on Saturdays and Sundays no requests are submitted for them.

For this reason, containers with imported clothing which have arrived for the Rostorgodezhda have turned into warehouses; about 100 cars with baked goods are idle through the fault of the Lenprodtorg; containers with washing detergent for the Lenhoztorg, with imported furniture for the Lenmebeltorg, and sugar and coffee for the Leningrad Foodstuffs Combine are idle.... The Bolshevichka Association, the Leningrad Butter and Fat Combine, and dozens of other organizations may be named from among the malicious violators of order.

This is what B. Trankov, chief of the department for unloading support at the October Railroad Administration, has to say in the matter:

"Previously, the oblast or state committee of the party would give a command, and unloading would take off. However, we have supposedly given up command methods, but more efficient methods of economic operations are not working yet. Somebody, say, the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet, should undertake putting this in order. Can't we use additional motor vehicles belonging to the enterprises of Leningrad for unloading as they have done in Moscow? Why should not the vehicles and manpower of the Leningrad military garrison be mobilized temporarily under the existing emergency situation?"

While agreeing with such conclusions and proposals, we would still like to stress: The managers of enterprises responsible for the clogging of the Leningrad junction with freight feel very secure. To be sure, they are paying fines, but not out of their own funds.

Rail Minister Claims Transport Normalizing

*904H0044A Moscow TRUD in Russian
31 Oct 89 p 1*

[Report by TASS correspondent A. Dragan: "If We Could Be in Time For the Holiday"]

[Text] Moscow, 30 October—"The situation on the country's railroads is gradually returning to normal," Minister N.S. Konarev said today at a teleconference in the USSR Ministry of Railways. "The 20 October meeting in the USSR Council of Ministers boosted work on car and container unloading. There has been a marked revitalization in the past 10 days of work involving the container stock. The average daily haulage of this scarce rolling stock increased by 1,800 units compared with the preceding 10-day period. The supply of cars for the loading of large-capacity containers is being catered for ahead of the plan schedule. Thus from 21 through 29 October the balance of loaded containers carrying imports declined in the ports by 3,400."

At the same time examples were adduced at the teleconference of scandalous mismanagement and sluggishness being displayed by certain local soviet authorities. Thus 44 large-capacity containers for the local tea-weighing factory have stood idle for 10 days at Batareynaya Station in Irkutsk. As V. Kharchenko, chairman of the Leningrad Transport Terminal Transportation Council, declared, V. Khodyrev, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee, has studied the question of the unsatisfactory unloading of cars and containers repeatedly. This should have borne fruit, it would seem. But the long rows of figures adduced at the teleconference stubbornly testify to the absence of specific work. Nine containers with garments for the Pervomayskaya Zarya Industrial Sewing Association have been standing at the Leningrad-Tovarnyy Vitebskiy Station since the start of October.

There are many such examples. However, the teleconference was not oriented toward a castigation of the guilty parties. The main thing was finding intelligent engineering solutions which would help, as the minister emphasized, the delivery to the industrial centers and all cities and district centers of the freight earmarked for the population by the October holiday. And the advance work for this has already been done—the turnover of each container has been accelerated by 8 hours. The cars are being processed more rapidly at the stations bordering Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. But at the same time it is necessary to eliminate the confusion at the Importtorg depot in Lvov, the disruptions on days off in Moscow and Leningrad, the Rosvneshtorg's wrongly scheduled coal cars on the Far East Railroad....

Railroad Freight Holdups Reviewed

PM0611143989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

["Topical Reportage" by TASS correspondents L. Frolov in Leningrad, G. Shalakin in Kemerovo, and V. Belyakov in Kuybyshev: "Disruption on the Roads"]

[Text] Despite the AUCCTU Presidium appeal to transport, industrial enterprise, and organization collectives to accelerate unloading and shipment of products, the situation remains serious on the railroads and at the ports. TASS correspondents report on the situation.

Leningrad

The members of the Leningrad City Soviet standing commission on transport and communications described the container handling situation at the Leningrad railroad terminus as extremely serious and important, one that demands an immediate solution.

One is bound to share the deputies' anxiety. By the time the session was held, around 3,000 tonnes of imported goods, many of them essential items, had accumulated at the commercial seaport alone. Container traffic has come to a standstill at Leningrad-Tovarnyy-Vitebskiy station.

Of course, the centralized planning system is very defective. By sending "surprise" plans to the provinces, ministries are operating in accordance with the principle of dealing out at random, which completely disrupts the original schedules. There has been much criticism of railroad workers and truck drivers: Handling equipment is primitive and frequently breaks down. There is a chronic shortage of loaders. But the standing commission members were unanimous that the freight recipients are chiefly to blame. The problem of freight handling in the evening and at night and on holidays, when enterprises are refusing to deal with packages and containers, is a major talking point. Glaring instances of mismanagement, bordering on economic crime, were cited. For instance, more than 80 containers of dried milk have been waiting at the port since September and washing powder and coffee are piling up there. Fines are being levied, but they are having little effect. The situation can be rectified only by economic levers, the deputies believe.

The standing commission outlined specific measures to rapidly eliminate the causes of the disruption of the transport process at the Leningrad terminus.

Kemerovo

In Kemerovo, workers and employees at the "Progress" association, the "Kuzbassshakhtostroy" combine, the chemical products plant, consumer services enterprises, and the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Executive Committee internal affairs administration, driven to desperation by the shortages of the most basic items, went and unloaded the freightcars in exchange for the opportunity to buy goods.

As a result a record was set at the goods station: 496 containers were unloaded (compared with a plan of 437), including 49 big 20-tonners, 60 percent of which were unloaded by oblast center industrial enterprises. An open letter from the AUCCTU presidium and authorization from the USSR Trade Minister, the Central

Union of Consumer Societies, and the trade workers trade union central committee to sell goods in great demand to collectives actively involved in accelerating the handling of Ministry of Railways rolling stock have made many enterprises railroad workers' reliable partners.

Nevertheless the transport situation in the Kuzbass cannot be considered favorable.

"The clots that occur every year," USSR Deputy Minister of Railways A. Sidenko said, "are evidence of chronic vascular disease in transport. There are still piles of industrial goods and even food at the oblast center goods station.

Kuybyshev

"At last"—that was the reaction of the working people of Kuybyshev Oblast when the oblast people's control committee fined specific leaders for disrupting freightcar unloading work, rather than fining anonymous enterprise collectives for having idle rolling stock.

The people control personnel who went to Bezymyanka station were amazed by the disorder there. A total of 1,408 containers had accumulated on the premises, containing clothing, small wares, scarce radio equipment, granulated sugar, and various foodstuffs. Because of the lack of space, another 173 freightcars were waiting their turn to be unloaded in the container area.

We have become accustomed to blaming anyone for idle freightcars except the railroad workers themselves. But is someone supposed to make decisions for V. Barannikov, chief of the Kuybyshev branch freight service, about prompt loading equipment repairs? And does branch deputy chief A. Aleynikov have to be reminded that his services are supposed to give customers notice of the arrival of freight?

Eleven senior officials of Kuybyshev enterprises were punished for disrupting rolling stock operations. Many had large amounts of pay stopped .

But life shows that you cannot solve all problems of handling railroad freight merely by increasing personal responsibility. Interdepartmental organizational measures are needed, too.

Republics 'Instructed' To Amend Legislation

PM1311184189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report "From the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session": "Concerning the Discrepancies Between Certain Union Republican Legislative Acts and the USSR Constitution"]

[Text] As has been reported, a 10 November 1989 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considered the question of discrepancies between certain union republican legislative acts and the USSR Constitution. During the session it was noted that recently, under the influence of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and first Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the democratization of all aspects of the country's life, there was a marked increase in the law-making activity of supreme organs of state power in the union republics. It is geared to elaborating a range of legal measures to strengthen the republics' economic and political independence, give their sovereignty real substance, and safeguard citizens' rights and freedoms. The union republics are also seeking to eliminate distortions and contortions that have occurred in the past, whose consequences are being felt to this day in various spheres of society's life.

At the same time, there is a very worrying trend in some republics, whereby norms contradicting provisions of the existing USSR Constitution and international law documents ratified by the Soviet Union are being included in legislative acts. Instances of this kind of violation were submitted for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet Presidium by the USSR Justice Ministry.

The ministry's statement notes that one of the fundamental principles of the building and functioning of the Soviet federative state is the right of the USSR to publish laws on matters under its jurisdiction, the primacy of these laws, and their unconditional and direct operation on the territory of the entire federation, which arises out of Articles 73 and 74 of the USSR Constitution. But recently constitutional legislative acts have been adopted in some union republics in breach of this principle, laying down a different procedure for implementing or enacting USSR laws on the territory of the particular republics.

For instance, Article 6 of the 23 September 1989 constitutional Law of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on the Sovereignty of the Republic states that USSR laws that do not breach the republic's laws operate on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR. This lays down in legislative form a selective approach to USSR laws and unlawfully limits their action.

Article 70 of the Lithuanian SRR Constitition (edition of 18 May 1989) envisages that solely laws adopted by its Supreme Soviet or through a referendum will operate in the republic, whereas USSR laws and legal acts of organs of USSR state power and administration will operate only after they have been approved by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and registered in the proper way. The operation of union acts can also be limited or suspended by republican Supreme Soviet resolution. In particular, on the basis of the aforementioned new edition of Article 70, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, by a 4 November 1989 resolution, suspended the action on Lithuanian territory of a whole series of CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on questions of providing housing for servicemen (including reservists and retired servicemen) and people who have worked for specific periods in areas of the far north or equivalent localities.

Article 71 of the Latvian SSR Constitution (29 July 1989 edition) states that the USSR Constitution and USSR laws enter into force on the territory of the Latvian SSR the moment they are ratified or a resolution enacting them is adopted by the supreme organ of state power in the Latvian SSR.

Article 5 of the Estonian SSR 16 November 1989 law on amendments and additions to the republic's Constitution stipulates registration of USSR laws by the Estonian SSR as a preliminary condition of their action on its territory and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's right in certain circumstances to suspend or set limits to the application of all-union legislative and other normative acts.

Similar provisions are reproduced in the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the republics adopted by the Supreme Soviets of the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 26 November 1988 Decree noted discrepancies between a number of articles of the Estonian SSR Law "On Amendments and Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Basic Law)" and the Declaration of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on the Sovereignty of the Estonian SSR, adopted on 16 November 1988, and the Constitution and laws of the USSR and ruled those articles invalid. It was also stressed that republican acts of this kind, establishing different operating conditions for USSR laws on the territory of the republics, undermine the foundations for the normal exercise of the Soviet federation's powers.

Certain provisions of union republican legislative acts regulating ownership relations contradict the USSR Constitution. In particular, the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR laws on amendments and additions to the republics' constitutions, adopted in 1988-1989, declare their right to exclusive ownership of land, mineral resources, internal and territorial waters, forests, and other natural resources. Moreover, in the Lithuanian SSR, the means of production and the property of banks and enterprises on its territory are regarded as national resources and as being under republican jurisdiction. In the Latvian SSR industrial enterprises, transport facilities, highways and railroads, and other national economic facilities have been declared the property of the republic. In the Estonian SSR fixed production capital in industry, construction, and agriculture, transport and communication facilities, state banks, and the property of state-organized trade, municipal, and other enterprises and the basic urban housing stock have been declared the property of the republic.

At the same time, Article 11 of the USSR Constitution stipulates that facilities of this kind are the common property of the entire Soviet people. To declare them the property of individual republics is to undermine the potential action of Article 73 of the USSR Constitution, which placed union-status associations and enterprises in the charge of the USSR.

Also out of step with the USSR Constitution are the norms of the Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR Constitutions on recognition of the republics' sole ownership of the continental shelf, the legal status of which is determined by international treaties of the USSR and, on the basis of them., by union legislation.

There are significant departures from provisions of the USSR Constitution and from international legal acts concluded by our country in decisions by certain union republics on questions of republican citizenship and the rights of Soviet citizens. Article 31 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the 3 November 1989 Lithuanian SSR Law on Citizenship fail to reproduce the USSR Constitution's provisions on a single union citizenship and on every citizen of the union republic's citizenship of the USSR. Under the law, people are deemed citizens of the Lithuanian SSR only if, on the day the law comes into effect, they are permanent residents of the republic and have a permanent job there or a permanent legal means of support or if they have obtained Lithuanian SSR citizenship in accordance with the aforementioned law. Citizens of the USSR living in other union republics are regarded as citizens of other states in the eyes of the law. The law lays down special conditions for the acquisition of citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR: An oath of allegiance to the republic; knowledge of the Lithuanian language; permanent residence on the republic's territory for the last 10 years; knowledge of the fundamentals of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution. A procedure is being introduced for deciding the question of citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR on an individual basis. Article 3 of the law stipulates that "the right to elect and be elected under the procedure laid down by the law to soviets of people's deputies and other elected state organs of the republic, to be appointed to organs of state authority and administration, and to be elected as judges and people's assessors of the Lithuanian SSR courts, and also the right to take part in republic referendums is enjoyed only by citizens of the Lithuanian SSR." This represents a substantial infringement of the constitutional rights of other USSR citizens living in the Lithuanian SSR but without Lithuanian SSR citizenship. In particular, it curtails such important citizens' rights as the right to participate in the administration of state and social affairs and the right to the choice of profession, type of employment and work. Determining the correlation between citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR and union citizenship, the law introduces a republic passport as the main document confirming citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR, stipulating in this respect, in Article 35, that "until Lithuania has restored full state sovereignty, citizens of the Lithuanian SSR will also use the USSR citizen's passport."

In contravention of Article 34 of the USSR Constitution and international legal acts ratified by the USSR, certain provisions have been introduced in the laws of the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR on languages which stipulate that the right to employment in a broad range of posts in enterprises, organizations, and institutions is the sole prerogative of citizens fluent in the language of the union republic concerned.

A series of legislative norms established in the Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR contain substantial departures from the principles of universal, equal electoral law. For example, Article 85 of the Latvian SSR Constitution, in particular, stipulates that only a citizen of the Latvian SSR who has lived permanently on the republic's territory for the last 10 years may be elected as a people's deputy of the republic and that only a citizen of the Latvian SSR who has lived permanently on the republic's territory for the last 5 years may be elected a people's deputy of a local soviet. This same provision is reproduced in Article 2 of the Latvian SSR Law of 29 July 1989 "On the Election of People's Deputies of Local Soviets of the Latvian SSR."

The Estonian SSR laws of 8 August 1989 "On the Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Estonian SSR" and "On Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Estonian SSR" introduce a residential qualification for participation in elections and for election to soviets of people's deputies. The right to elect is granted to citizens of the Estonian SSR who have lived on the territory of the soviet being elected for not less than the previous 2 years or in the Estonian SSR for a total of 5 years, while the right to be elected a people's deputy requires a term of residence of no less than 5 and 10 years respectively. What is more, these laws also introduce restrictions on military servicemen's participation in elections.

On 16 August 1989, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ruled that the aforementioned provisions of the Estonian SSR laws do not accord with the USSR Constitution and are in violation of the human rights enshrined in international legal acts ratified by the Soviet Union, but it also noted that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was to submit the question of bringing the aforementioned norms of Estonian SSR laws into line with the USSR Constitution and international legal acts to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet for discussion by 1 October 1989. However, on 5 October 1989, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet confined itself to adopting a resolution not to enforce the residential qualification only in the elections to local soviets of people's deputies on 10 December 1989.

Some republic legislative acts on questions of national state building contain provisions exceeding the competence of the union republics. Article 12 of the Azerbaijan SSR constitutional law states that it is within the jurisdiction of the republic, in the form of its highest organs of state authority and administration, to form and to abolish autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts within the Azerbaijan SSR. In this respect, Article 72 of the republic's constitution omits reference to the need to submit the question of forming autonomous republics and oblasts to the USSR Supreme Soviet for approval, as stipulated by the union constitution. Under Azerbaijan SSR law, the question of defining the competence and operational procedure of the law courts is also within the republic's jurisdiction, whereas under the USSR Constitution (Articles 115, 154, 157, and others) any decision on fundamental questions regarding the administering of justice (including the competence of the law courts) is taken by the USSR in the Fundamentals of Legislation and other all-union laws.

Exceeding its competence, on 29 September 1989 the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the resolution "On the Military Service of Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR," under which questions concerning the elementary military training of young people in the republic are placed within the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR. This has been done despite the fact that questions concerning the training of young people for service in the USSR Armed Forces, including elementary military training, are regulated by the USSR Law of 12 October 1967 "On Compulsory Military Service."

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet has passed the law "On Extrajudicial Mass Repressions in Soviet Estonia in 1940-1950," under which all people exiled to special settlements have been rehabilitated. But, under the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 16 January 1989, "On Additional Measures to Restore Justice to the Victims of the Repressions Which Took Place in the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties," people who committed crimes are not liable to rehabilitation.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 18 May 1989 and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 24 July 1989 do not accord with the USSR Constitution, as they stipulate that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 21 March 1988 "On the Taxation of the Owners of Means of Transport and Other Automotive Machines and Mechanisms" is suspended in the territory of the aforementioned republics.

It should be pointed out that these cases in which republic legislation diverges from the USSR Constitution and USSR laws have not gone unnoticed by union organs of authority. In the majority of cases, they have been brought to the attention of the relevant state organs of the union republics. However, the republics have still not taken proper measures to eliminate the violations brought to light.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting stressed that, now that our country has entered the phase of giving legislative backing to the policy of restructuring, the adoption of new republic laws must be in keeping with the law-making processes at the all-union level. This requires coordinated actions by the center and the republics and careful consideration of the opinions and interests of the peoples of the individual republics concerned and of the union as a whole. In this connection, the adoption of laws by union republics that fail to accord with the USSR Constitution tends to undermine the foundations of the Soviet federation and conflicts with the idea of building a rule-of-law state. Having embarked on the path of building a socialist rule-of-law state, we are obliged to take a strict, respectful attitude to the existing constitution and USSR laws. Until changed in the established procedure, each norm of the constitution must be complied with to the letter. Total clarity is needed in this matter. Only by realizing the aims of restructuring, carrying out consistent legal reform, and strengthening the rule of law can we reach a new level of harmonization in interethnic relations.

Taking this into consideration, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decided that the norms of the union republics' legislative and other normative acts cited in the representation by the USSR Ministry of Justice cannot, under Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, be considered valid on the territory of those republics, because they conflict with the norms of the union constitution. On the basis of Point 5 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution, the Azerbaijan SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums are instructed to take measures under established procedure to bring the legislation of these republics in line with the USSR Constitution.

Baltic Sociologists Debate Perestroyka

LD0511142689 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] Riga November 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina:

The traditional Baltic sociologists' conference which has come to a close here was notable for sometimes unexpected remarks which sparked off heated debate or even gave rise to a certain mistrust on the part of the audience.

No one argued, for example, with Moscow Professor Yuriy Levada who is in charge of a department at the All-Union Public Opinion Studies Centre.

He spoke of a high politisation of society and of the fact that almost all perestroyka processes in the Baltic region are now perceived from the viewpoint of ethnic rebirth.

The attitude of the audience to remarks by Justas Paleckis, head of the Ideological Department of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, was somewhat different. He spoke of preparations in Lithuania for the party congress scheduled for December 19. The preparations are being made in virtually multiparty system conditions, he said.

Recently Lithuanian party chiefs met the leaders of 15 movements, six of which call themselves parties, Paleckis said. There are also factions among communists, some of whom favour complete independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party and partnership relations with the CPSU and with the communist parties of other union republics, he said.

Paleckis pointed out with regret that illusions are now being entertained in Lithuania that it is possible to live without good relations with neighbours.

"It is widely believed here that our main allies sit somewhere in Washington, Bonn, London, Budapest or Warsaw," he emphasised.

"My personal opinion is that our main allies at this stage are in Moscow. It is precisely there that the forces leading society to democratisation are based and we must proceed together with them", Paleckis said.

A stir in the audience was caused by his remarks that a certain decline in people's interest in political and public organisations is observed in Lithuania.

With reference to the findings of Lithuanian sociologists he said that over the past five months the rating of the Sajudis Movement in support of perestroyka dropped by 11 points, that of the Communist Party by seven points, and the Freedom League by 20 points.

At the same time during another opinion poll 76 per cent of residents of Lithuania spoke out in favour of socialism as the prevalent form of social life.

An analysis also indicated that the popularity of the humanitarians who were at the centre of attention at the first stage of perestroyka is declining in the republic.

Economists, the advocates of specific action, suggesting realistic versions of a solution to problems are now coming to the fore. To tell the truth, not all participants in the conference agreed with this opinion.

Latvia's Bresis Comments on Baltic Cooperation

LD0111103989 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2105 GMT 29 Oct 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Text] Now we shall once more return to the talks held at the level of councils of ministers of the three Baltic republics, already mentioned last Sunday. A joint communique of all the republics, signed by the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, has already appeared in our press. One of the items of this communique envisages acquainting the leaders of the Soviet Union with the results of the joint work.

It regards it as useful to inform the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov, about the work accomplished and the problems hindering its accomplishment.

It charges the USSR People's Deputies from the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Lithuanian SSR, and Latvian SSR with the task of carrying out purposeful and effective work so that the USSR draft law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics can be examined sooner.

Also the time schedules—that is, December of this year, when representatives of the Baltic republics will sign agreements on mutual economic cooperation—are stated in the text of the communique.

The results of the meeting and its proceedings were reflected in the press and television last week. We will give an insight on "Amber Coast" into how this meeting was assessed by representatives of all three sides on the special television broadcast of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers. It was chaired by journalist Andrejs Galvans, who first interviewed the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, Vilnis Bresis.

[Begin recording] [Bresis] We are just starting to work, so we are comparing what has been accomplished in each republic. And it turns out that there is, after all, an individual approach in each republic; there are already successes achieved in various stages. And therefore, it appears to me that precisely this exchange of ideas will advance each republic very rapidly , in a certain movement, let us say, by which we are able to exchange ideas so that...

[Galvans, interrupting] Does it not appear to you that today we should also give, if only briefly, an answer to those agitated minds here in Latvia who, you know, with great concern watch the Supreme Soviet's session in Moscow? Its course, right? Is there not something being blocked at this moment in Moscow concerning the republic?

[Bresis] You see, first of all, blocking occurs, I think, because Moscow does not have a realistic version of restructuring. I am probably saying this too loud and probably too, well, kind of categorically, but I am convinced that our work is a version of a realistic economic reform. And it appears that this blockage occurs precisely because the center has not worked out its position.

[Galvans] So then, at this moment, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania are consolidating into a kind of first, if we can say so, with their platform? However, if someone is by your shoulder, then it is easier to fight. Can we understand the meaning of today's meeting like that?

[Bresis] Yes, in principle we already had a similar, united platform, if one could say so, right? But we did not have it worked out, let us say, in kind of a working regime, in a united manner. But nevertheless, we are working on this common platform individually. And this meeting of our work, this visit, will enable us to concentrate forces and work jointly on the same common problems. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the course of the interview, the possible reaction to such documents in Moscow was not passed over in silence.

[Begin recording] [Galvans] Would you please say whether these documents you have at the moment here on the table and which have been signed will also be put on some table in Moscow?

[Bresis] Yes, I do not think that we would conceal them.

[Galvans] Could you predict the reaction?

[Bresis] Well, the reaction, as it has been until now, I do not think that it will change. There will be resistance in the beginning; after that there will be a dialogue, and the third stage will be some kind of an agreement. [end recording]

Gorbunov Chairs Latvian Supreme Soviet 10 Nov

LD1311234889

[Editorial report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 0800 GMT on 10 November begins a live relay of the Latvian Supreme Soviet session, chaired by Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov.

As Gorbunov explains, this session continues with the main point on the agenda of the last session in July, and he continues in detail about the items on the agenda and the session's work procedure, which are approved.

The items on the agenda are listed as follows:
1) On the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] draft laws on Latvian SSR Constitution changes and amendments; on the election of Latvian SSR people's deputies; on the election of the president of the Republic of Latvia;
2) On the election of Latvian SSR people's deputies, that is, in connection with the time schedule and date of elections;
3) On the republic's State Plan for 1990 and the course of fulfilment of the 1989 plan;
4) On the republic's budget for 1990 and 1988 budget fulfilment;
5) On festive and remembrance days;
6) On the Latvian SSR citizens' military service;
7) On the Latvian SSR draft law on changes and amendments in some Latvian SSR legislative acts and questions on peasants' farms;
8) On the provisional procedure according to which USSR laws and legal acts, adopted by USSR state power and administrative organs, come into force and are cancelled on Latvian SSR territory;
9) On the USSR law on collective labor disputes' settlement procedure coming into force on Latvian SSR territory, and on the Latvian SSR draft law on strikes;
10) On the Latvian SSR draft laws on rural civil parish, village self-government, on town self-government, on rayon self-government, on establishing a self-government system of the people;
11) Information on the work of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet commission which assesses the political and legal consequences caused in Latvia by the 1939-40 agreements concluded between the USSR and Germany;
12) On the Latvian SSR minister of health;
13) On the election of people's judges of some Latvian SSR rayons;
14) On arranging the election of rayon people's courts and chairmen;
15) On horticultural cooperative development in Riga and Limbazi rayons;

16) On army service. Gorbunov says that many applications have been received on this subject, including an application by the Association of Repressed Persons to the Supreme Soviet to issue a law on the basis of which those who had participated in illegal repressions could be called to account, but as this was only an appeal and a request, it was handed over to legislation proposals commission for further work.

Deputy Vitols from Vainode no.228 constituency, proposes—because of interest and also alarm due to the USSR draft law on state language—to provide place and time in the agenda—by way of informing Comrade Plotnieks—on the course of drawing up this draft law.

Concerning the session's work procedure it is agreed that there will be a break at 1200; lunch between 1400 and 1500; another break of 20-30 minutes at 1700 and the session will continue until 2000, and will resume tomorrow 1 hour earlier, at 0900.

Gorbunov then gives the floor to Comrade Janis Vagris, chairman of the commission for rewording the Latvian SSR and for drawing up a draft election law.

Commenting on Vagris' speech Gorbunov remarks that at one place his speech should have referred, as in the draft, to the president nominating and not appointing people. Vagris seems to agree that his tongue may have slipped.

After Vagris' report on behalf of the constitution and draft election law commission, and before the speeches in connection with the status and election of the republic's president, Gorbunov then reads an announcement by the presidium of Society of the Jurists of Latvia: "The presidium of the Society of Jurists of Latvia, having at an enlarged sitting repeatedly discussed the question of the president's election, has decided not to cancel the draft laws on the president's question submitted to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"The presidium of the Society of Jurists of Latvia considers that the time envisaged for discussion has been much too short to explain to the public the sense of the institution of the president, and to prevent rash judgements and emotions. As a result, an exchange of standpoints on this question has almost not taken place, and for this a share of responsibility must also be assumed by the Society of Jurists of Latvia.

"At the same time the Society of Jurists of Latvia considers that it is the duty of the republic's jurists to offer the public drafts of new legislative acts, rather than deciding for the people or its authorized representatives what it needs more.

"Taking into account the situation which has arisen, the presidium of the Society of Jurists of Latvia appeals for a continuation of a public discussion on the necessity of introducing the institution of the president, and for a discussion once more of this question while working on the new wording of the republic's constitution.

"Signed by Valdis Birkavs, president of the Society of Jurists of Latvia."

Then Deputy Janina Abolina speaks about a certain concern with regard to the finality of the laws to be adopted, about her support for the president to be elected in direct elections by the whole people and, concerning the USSR Supreme Soviet on Russian as the state language for the whole Soviet Union, she proposes that it would be useful at this session to define the attitude to this; that a small working group prepare a text to the USSR supreme soviet with the opnion that "the state language's status be determined by each republic's supreme organ of power, and the Russian language, in its turn, be assigned, in my opinion, no less an important role, that is, that of an international communications language."

The next speaker is USSR People's Deputy Andris Plotnieks, who begins by asking whether it should be an escalation of slogans or an escalation of action. There has been success in the escalation of slogans previously which caused increasingly more new tasks, and thereby also new discords and differences of opinions. There has been perhaps less success in the escalation of action. Quoting from the list of powers of authority of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, in Article 97, according to the 24 July wording, there were 31 items, but in the draft at the disposal of the deputies there are 27 items, and he directs attention to a paragraph where certain questions, as it were, had been touched upon more or less, but it seems to him that perhaps less juridically, but more politically, it would be wrong to change the formulas which had been introduced. He reads one norm: "Verifies adherence to the Constitution and the laws in state and public organs, enterprises, establishments and organizations, including in Armed Forces' units, in state security organs, in internal affairs' organs and departments, and also at the enterprises of defense industry which are located in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic territory.

"This is a new norm in principle, although according to its expression it reminds one of a novel. Yes. The list is very long. But at the same time we also know that in many instances, encountering one or another object, and attempting to establish the control of parliament over it, we receive the reply—you are not competent; special organizations will deal with this. Then, you see, this norm gives the parliament these rights."

Plotnieks continues at length about the authority of the Supreme Soviet directly, or its implementation by way of subordinated organs, preservation of the Supreme Soviet's power and avoiding legal contradictions; about election qualifications, mentioning that with regard to citizenship there is a lack of clarity, that the period of residence qualification is not discriminatory compared with the period of citizenship for a person to be elected in the United States and in France.

Plotnieks then talks about the army's particpation in elections, among other things, in the law on the election of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic People's Deputies which has to be adopted on this day. In his opinion a correction must be introduced: "First of all, when talking about Article 7, analyzing the principle of openness, it should be especially emphasized in it that this refers also to elections in army units. Because we were guided by the principle that it would not be possible to ensure openness in army units, it would not be possible to ensure the demands which we are able to ensure in any constituency. Therefore this special representation appears; but if according to general regulations, then general norms will operate.

"Further, from all the articles where there is the authority of the army unit's commander, this must be cleared out, in this instance only the authority of soviets," for all the procedural norms should be analogous to those at any constituency.

Finally Plotnieks talks about the institution of the president at length, explaining the source of the president's authority and that the power construction which they had been asked to establish fully on this day should be stable; and that the entire construction should be discussed once more. The law on election had not been completed fully. If they had a head of state who represented all people and the state, and voters equal to one another then this is one thing, but a very essential element is missing in the construction—"We do not have equal adminstrative/territorial division units." He proposes for Aricle 100 which deals with plenary sittings, the introduction of an institution of sittings of representatives. Then the institution of the president would appear as a natural arbitrator between these forms of work, ensuring the necessary balance. This could be introduced, in his opinion, at the Constitution's level, but not in the law on elections.

Summarizing the proposals, Gorbunov expresses regret that Professor Plotnieks, being a member of the constitution commission, did not manage to raise these questions at a commission's sitting. Today they could then have had a concrete draft and he asks him, regarding his proposal as a plenary correction, to prepare it for deputies because any proposals for corrections should be in written form.

Concerning the present procedure, Gorbunov reminds participants that if a question is clear then it can be decided by a vote, as, for example, about qualifications which had been clear at the last sitting; but if not, then there are questions and speeches in that connection: "The same goes for the president's status. We have taken that road where we have published information, when we have had an opportunity of discussing and weighing up and doing everything. But if every time we begin again from the beginning with new proposals—it can also be done like that, but, unfortunately, then we shall again delay elections; but a permanent parliament is very necessary to us," respecting everyone's wishes, but "we are all busy with our work and we cannot work here all week," and elections cannot be postponed.

The next speaker in this debate is Candidate of Juridical Sciences Talavs Jundzis, head of a department of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences. He notes that the standpoints in Riga and Moscow, in the People's Front and the Interfront have not concurred too frequently of late, but in the discussion of the president's draft law there has been the unique event of a considerable consolidation of forces in society. But, unfortunately, the arguments were quite contrary, excluding one another. Some wanted to legitimize the formation of the illegal Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic; others attempted to demolish Soviet power. But many supported the president's election as a further road of democratization and independence of Latvia. The time for discussion has been much too short. Some publications in the republic's newspapers appeared to believe that "the president offered by us is some kind of a terrible monster getting ready to devour the last remains of Latvia's independence." But they were practically granting to the president only a few more powers of authority in addition to those of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The question arises of who is afraid of democracy, and whether the situation is not like it is at present in Hungary, when it is precisely the radical wing which is afraid of the direct election of the president. Perhaps the protests came first from those who appealed for a boycott also of the next Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet elections.

And to what is heard from Moscow it must be said that "power in our country does not after all belong to the soviets, but belongs, as it has been written into Article 2 of the Constitution, to the people," for only the people can decide whom to entrust with power. In the version offered, the president receives the people's mandate, no party leader having had it until now. "And is this not the real reason behind the fear in Moscow; why this president's institution is being so categorically rejected also there?" A continuously working Supreme Soviet will be established in the republic next year, in fact, a formerly so much abused bourgeois parliament, while forgetting that in any parliamentary country there is also a head of state: "Is this not a bitter irony, when we see in Moscow that the highest USSR official, I mean Mikhail Gorbachev, who in fact has been changed into the parliament's speaker—the man who should tackle urgent state tasks, who should implement the state's political strategy, who should maintain contacts with diplomatic representatives, who should solve important questions—is in fact engaged in editing draft laws, day in, day out, at the USSR Supreme Soviet." In a law-governed state, in the opinion of Jundzis, this cannot be so. Serious discussion on the introduction of the president's institution must continue.

In conclusion, Jundzis states that the Society of Jurists of Latvia have received news from their colleagues in New

York, at the World Association of Latvian Jurists, expressing support for the idea of a president in Latvia.

After a brief contribution by Deputy Ojars Karklins who says, among other things, that the residence qualification is no discrimination in elections, Gorbunov deals with procedural matters and conducts the voting procedure on the Society of Jurist's proposal on the president. This proposal is rejected.

The live relay of the Latvian Supreme Soviet session then ends.

Vagris Speaks on Constitution

LD1311221589 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0800 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Speech by Janis Vagris, chairman of commission to rewrite Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution and to draw up draft election law, on the first day of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session; preceded by introductory remarks by Chairman Anbatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov—live]

[Text] [Gorbunov] The floor is given to Comrade Janis Vagris, chairman of the commission for drawing up a new wording of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution and a draft election law, to deliver a report on the question of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic draft laws on changes and amendments to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution; on the election of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputies; and on the election of the republic's president:

[Vagris] Esteemed comrade deputies: In the first place, at the Supreme Soviet session we must come to an agreement and decide today, what should the supreme state power, its functions, be in the republic.

During the break between both of the sittings, which lasted for approximately a month, you all had the opportunity to become acquainted with, and think over, the draft laws on changes in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution and on elections, submitted for examination.

Those are two draft laws. It is envisaged in the first one that the republic's supreme state organ of power is the Supreme Soviet which is being elected, as was decided at the previous sitting; and the norm of representation would be 1 deputy from 10,000 electors.

In the second draft law, on the changes to the Constitution, the proposal is to establish, beside the Supreme Soviet, the position of the republic's president.

So then, which of these drafts would be more suitable to our republic?

Discussion of the draft laws by the people shows that inhabitants have not received them with identical approval. The expressed standpoints could be—conditionally of course—divided into three parts. Some support the institution of the republic's president, others object to it—a proporton of them rather categorically at that. And there are still others who consider that the institution of the president would be acceptable in the republic, but that this should be decided not today, but by the new Supreme Soviet in preparing for the regular elections.

What are the motives like? Greatly varied and even contradictory.

Those denying the institution of the president point out that the president's position is not characteristic of the Soviet system; that to a certain extent it restricts the parliament elected by the people; that the conditions in our republic are not yet such that this republic could be represented by a president. Holding this opinion are the radical association of the People's Front of Latvia and the Dome, the Interfront, Latvia's National Independence Movement, and others.

Supporters of the institution of the president, in their turn, point out that the establishment of such a position would be, on principle, a new step on the parliamentary evolution road, implementing in practice the declaration adopted in the July session on Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic state sovereignty; that the establishment of the institution of the president would raise the republic's prestige, both in the Soviet Union and in the entire world. This opinion is held by the Union of Latvia's Farmers, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet deputies from Tukums rayon, the Tukums branch of the People's Front of Latvia, a group of USSR deputies elected in Latvia, the plenum of Bauska rayon of the Communist Party of Latvia, 150 workers from the (Talka) production association, 32 workers from the Zilite kindergarten, and others.

And, individual citizens have expressed all three standpoints, not only public organizations.

It is being pointed out that too great a polarization of opinions exists at the present time in the republic, and that in this situation electing the president, rather than furthering the process of consolidating inhabitants, could become an agent for a further division; that as long as the question of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic citizenship is not clear, it is not known whom the possible president would represent; and that creating the institution of the president would require an increase of expenditure for the upkeep of the state apparatus, and that the republic's present financial circumstances do not permit this.

So then, deciding upon the issue of the institution of the president, we must weigh all the pros and cons.

Without doubt, our goal is to create a law-governed democratic state, and the drafts to be examined today must become a cornerstone of such a state.

Election of the president, in general, direct elections speak for the good of democracy. However, at the same time, the president's authority envisaged in the draft grants to him great power for one person. It is in the competence of the president to put forward nominations for appointment, or election to the positions of the republic's highest officials, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet; the chairman of the Council of Ministers; the republic's Procurator; the chairman of the Supreme Court and others; to appoint the republic's diplomatic representatives; and also to appoint the republic's permanent representatives for the representations that it is proposed be opened in other union republics. Until now, the appointment of officials was decided collegiately.

It is envisaged that the president (?alone) awards Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic rewards, pardons convicted persons, proclaims referendums; also other powers of authority are envisaged.

If it is taken into account that a decree of the president of the Supreme Soviet can be revoked only in the instance when it contradicts the law, then comparatively extensive functions of power are being handed over to the president.

Concern is caused also by the draft law envisaging rights for the president, during the Supreme Soviet session's recess, of individually proclaiming a state of war, or an emergency situation in the entire republic or in some regions, and of laying down special forms of administration.

The president has the right not to sign a law and to return it for a repeat examination at the Supreme Soviet, that is, of stopping such laws coming into force, as stated in the draft law, as do not correspond to the interests of the people. However, a probability cannot be excluded that for a time brakes could be applied also to a law which would be in the interests of the people.

So extensive an authority granted to one person, in our opinion, could, from the very beginning, restrict the Supreme Soviet's activity; the activity of the Supreme Soviet which, in the republic's history, we shall elect for the first time entirely democratically, and which should begin the work of a real parliament.

There is no mechanism in the draft law that could prevent the growth of (?authoritarianism).

In the present difficult and complicated situation, any opportunity must be used, which could improve the situation in the republic, which would promote the development of democracy and progress, which would guide our society toward radical changes in economic and political life. But there are no convincing guarantees that the introduction of the position of the president would speed up and improve the solution of our accumulated problems.

In our opinion, it would be more correct—while not denying that in the future the institution of the president could gain general authority, could give stability to the state power, and would raise the republic's prestige—we would leave the examination of this question for a new Supreme Soviet.

When examining this question in recent days at the deputies' commission for preparation for the Constitution, the standpoints were unanimous that there should be no hurry to introduce the position of the president. Thus in the name of the commission, the first version of the draft law is being recommended for examination by deputies, that is, the Supreme Soviet without the president.

The second question: On the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republics deputies' election law.

In connection with that, the present changeover to an alternative system of nomination of candidates deputies and election of deputies could even lead ito one or another peoples losing representation in the republic's organs of power; participation by the republic's national culture societies in elections must be reconsidered.

In accordance with Article 31 of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic People's Deputy election draft law, candidate deputies can be nominated by public organizations' plenums and conferences of rayons, town and city rayon organs. However, only some national culture societies have rayon and town organs. In such a way, a majority of these societies cannot participate in the nomination of candidate deputies.

Discussing these draft laws at its sitting, the commission came to the conclusion that those national culture societies which do not have in their structure rayon and town branches must be given the right of nominating Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic candidate deputies at the republican conferences of these societies; thereby, here the candidates could be nominated in a constituency in which the representatives of this nationality reside compactly, or nomination could take place in the constituency where the candidate deputy resides, or in any constituency according to the conference's opinion.

So various versions are possible here. I think that such a solution is the right one.

Already the Forum of the Peoples of Latvia, in its resolution on the national and cultural development of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic national and ethnic groups, noted that it is necessary, when drawing up the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution in a new wording and other legislative acts, to examine the legal guarantee questions of the interests of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic national and ethnic groups; and to define the legal status of the national culture societies and their rights to nominate candidate deputies to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and the local soviets.

For the sake of clarity, it is necessary to underline that nomination of candidate deputies at these societies, in comparison with other public organizations and labor collectives, does not give to the national culture societies any kind of priorities, because these candidates, just as all the other ones, have to endure at their constituencies all the pre-election struggle and must obtain the support of the majority in order to be able to receive a deputy's mandate.

In envisaging for the national culture societies the rights to nominate candidate deputies, the rights of other collectives and meetings to nominate as a candidate deputy a representative of any nationality, or even a national culture society's member, are not restricted.

Third is the question on the status of a public consultative council of nationalities which the Forum of the Peoples of Latvia decided to establish at the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. In the present draft of the alterations to the Constitution, in Article 106, there is only a brief phrase that such a consultative council is being formed, but its legal status has not been defined.

I think that a proposal by the association of national culture societies of granting to the consultative council of nationalities the rights of legislation initiative is substantiated. This proposal was also supported by the commission of deputies.

The consultative council of nationalities is, according to its essence, a republican public organ and, just as other public organisations' republican organs, the consultative council of nationalities, too, should be given opportunities to draw up draft laws and submit them to the Supreme Soviet.

The fourth question: On ensuring equal election rights, and the participation of soldiers in elections.

At the last sitting of the Supreme Soviet already several deputies had expressed the view that Article 85 of the Constitution must be re-examined, restrictions with regard to the period of residence at one place must be cancelled, and on general principles the participation of soldiers in elections must be envisaged.

We also received such a proposal from a group of USSR deputies elected in Latvia, and from several army units and citizens.

I think that such proposals should be supported, because they correspond to the principles of democracy which we are endeavoring to practice in life.

In a democratic state, the citizens' right to vote is not being restricted by the qualification of the period of residence at one place. The right to vote and to be elected is usually connected with citizenship. In the law on citizenship, the period of residence qualification and other criteria are laid down, which are necessary so that a newcomer would become a citizen of that state.

In our republic, however, a law on citizenship has not yet been adopted: At the present moment we all are USSR and Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic citizens. Because of that, the restrictions in our republic's Constitution are not quite comprehensible either in our state or beyond its borders.

About the soldiers: The special procedure laid down in Article 85 of the Constitution, according to which soldiers participate in elections, does not bear witness to a consistent adherence to democratic principles. On the one hand, fixing the norm of representation for soldiers at the Supreme Soviet gives to this category guarantees which the law does not grant to any social or national group, or a public organization. On the other hand, the participation of soldiers in elections on general principles—the soldier candidates' pre-election fight in the same constituencies with the candidates nominated by labor collectives, public organizations and inhabitants' meetings—would ensure both more comprehensive contacts between inhabitants and soldiers, and quests for common solutions to various problems.

With the adoption of a law on changes of this kind in Article 85 of the republic's Constitution, these could not, however, be applied to the elections of local soviets' people's deputies, because the nomination of candidate deputies ends today, and also the lists of voters have already been compiled.

It must also be remarked here that by laying down a special procedure for soldiers in the elections of people's deputies of local soviets, it had to be taken into account that in the territories of some local soviets there are more soldiers than inhabitants, or the soldiers' share among the number of voters is great. Under such circumstances the participation of soldiers in the elections of people's deputies of local soviets [as heard] in their constituencies will ensure comprehensive representation of the people in these soviets.

And the last question, which concerns the elections of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputies.

At the July session, we adopted alterations to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution—among those concerning Article 79 of the Constitution—and we laid down that the elections of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputies must be fixed 4 months before the expiry of the period of authority of the Supreme Soviet, in such a way envisaging 4 months for the election campaign.

We should once more return to this time schedule and to consider carefully whether it would not be possible to shorten it.

The period of authority of the Supreme Soviet ends at the end of February of next year. If it is taken into account that the elections of the people's deputies of the local soviets will take place on 10 December of this year, but also organizing of a repeated voting cannot be excluded, so then, the election campaign can practically end only after 20 December. This means that simultaneously with the elections of the local soviets the work of organizing the elections of the republic's people's deputies must be started.

We consider that under our republic's circumstances, taking into account that the territories of constituencies are not large, it is possible to carry out the entire election campaign in 3 months. Thus, it should also be envisaged in Article 85 of the Constitution that the elections of people's deputies are fixed not later than 3 months before the expiry of the authority of the corresponding organs of state power.

Such are the proposals which the commission for preparing the Constitution charged me with briefing the deputies about.

I thank you for the attention.

Estonian Election Law Polemic Continues

PM1311142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY-TASS report under the general heading: "At Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions"]

[Text] Tallinn, 10 Nov—The deputies who gathered today to continue their work at the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session literally had to force their way through a dense ring of people surrounding the building of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the House of Political Enlightenment. The pickets were holding posters reflecting the complex political situation in the republic and the questions that the deputies of the republic parliament were to discuss today.

The draft republic law on elections to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet was submitted for a second reading. The political passions over the republic Supreme Soviet's adoption of the law on elections to local soviets, which provides for a residence qualification for voters and candidate deputies, are still fresh in the memory. The draft law on elections to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet also provides for a qualification for candidate deputies. This draft law has been subjected to a lively discussion in the republic during the month which elapsed between the session's first sittings and its continuation today. As was only to be expected, the polemic developed, above all, over the residence qualification, but also over the size of the republic parliament, the procedure for forming electoral okrugs, and the vote counting system.

These same questions were also the topic of debate during today's sitting. A number of deputies urged people to vote against the draft law or to remove from it the provision relating to the residence qualification. This same group proposed forming a bicameral republic Supreme Soviet, including a chamber of nationalities which will represent national minorities. Other deputies, on the contrary, supported the establishment of the residence qualification, because only in this way will it be possible, in their opinion, to form a competent parliament that is capable of protecting the interests of Estonia's inhabitants. The qualification proposed here ranged from 5 to 15 years.

At the request of the deputies' group "For Equal Rights" there was a vote on submitting the draft for a third reading. After a long and hard discussion, the right to finally decide this question was granted to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It advocated a third reading. So, after 2 days of reflection, on 12 November the deputies have to make their difficult choice. After the third reading the law must be adopted.

After a discussion, the Supreme Soviet adopted the law on the fundamentals of Estonian SSR local self-management.

The deputies also listened to the draft laws on enterprises, the budget, and prices. They were forwarded to the commissions for finishing and will be submitted at the next session.

The session will continue its work Sunday.

Estonian Rural Development Council Formed

LD0511072189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0000 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] A new collegial consultative body of the Government of Soviet Estonia, the Council for the Development of Rural Life, has been set up in Tallinn. Its members are representatives of 32 public movements, departments, and scientific establishments, and they met together for the first time to start working out alternatives for the organization of the state administration of agriculture in Estonia.

Estonian Official on Currency Conversion

LD0311123289 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
0700 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Interview with Rein Otsason, deputy chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, by correspondent Juhan Virkus, in Moscow on the "Echo of the Morning" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Virkus] Officials of the banks and governments of the three Baltic republics and Moscow met at the editorial board of the EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA. The discussion was about money. Rein Otsason, deputy chairman of our Council of Ministers:

[Otsason] I am pleased that this conference was convened at the initiative of the editorial board of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA. I interpret this fact as a manifestation that a republic's having its own currency is an idea which is being considered here, despite stilll very serious opposition from many; and it deserves discussion at the highest level.

[Virkus] Well, we too have diverse attitudes toward currency. The group of economists you lead clearly support the need to transfer to our own currency. Would this be feasible in practice, say, from 1 January?

[Otsason] No. It is clear that it will not be from 1 January. Optimistically I would say that it will be next year, but not as of 1 January. There is a certain cycle, a production cycle, of approximately 8 months. So from the time we adopt a resolution and put in an order for the production of banknotes, we will then have to calculate from there.

[Virkus] Now, on the one hand, we expect purchase notes to be introduced; then again, our own currency is being promised. Individuals are confused.

[Otsason] Frankly speaking, I do act on this concern for the people over what will become of money which has been earned through honest work. I believe that the sole possible prospect for self-management in our republic is a direct changeover to own currency, without a temporary period of checks.

The matter is simple: Should we set up new money circulation with new banknotes? I mean here this check circulation, which is also money circulation of a kind. Or should we construct a situation in which our overall currency circulation will in itself become more normal and do everything to make it normal? This proposal is directed, first and foremost at our exchanging all the money for the new currency. How we do this obviously has to be decided. We will then exchange all the money and will guarantee all that money, so that a situation will not arise in which one small amount of one will be worth more. Exactly to that extent the purchase notes will be more privileged, and rubles will be even less accepted. In countries all over the world, whether small or large, in difficulties or doing well, one monetary system exists. There is no precedent of this kind. If you now think over what some people have been suggesting, that we should create two circulation systems, it transpires that this would cause many more conflicts, in my opinion.

Estonian Forum Statement on Russian Culture

PM0911163189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Sep 89 p 3

["Statement of the Third Forum of the Peoples of Estonia on the Development of Russian Culture in Estonia"—SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA headline]

[Text] We, the representatives of Russian cultural societies and social organizations ofthe Russian-speaking population participating in the Third Forum of the Peoples of Estonia, are united in our desire to promote by our activity the unity and full inclusion of people of Russian culture in the republic's social life. To this end, it is necessary to promote in every way the renewal, preservation, and development of the values of Russian culture on the basis of its humanist ideals and traditions, which the definite rise in cultural activity among part of the Russian-speaking population of Estonia is already promoting.

We consider that achieving a stable situation in civil peace and social harmony is a necessary prerequisite for this activity, and we support the initiative to hold a "Civil Peace" conference in the near future. We believe that this conference should examine the proposals put forward at the forum regarding the representation of ethnic groups and minorities in Estonia on higher republic organs of power and also state support and material provision for their cultural activity.

The Russian-speaking population's societies and organizations represented at the forum reached an agreement on the need to coordinate their activity and exchange information and formulated programs.

We declare our readiness to cooperate with all societies and organizations that promote the development of ethnic cultures in Estonia and outside Estonia with the aim of enriching the republic's general cultural heritage.
[Signed] The Russian Culture in Estonia Society
The Tartu Russian Cultural Society
The Russian Cultural Center under the Estonian Cultural Reserve
The "Svetoch" Culture and Enlightenment Association
The "Naslediye" Cultural Center
The Slavic Culture Society

Adopted by the Third Forum of Peoples of Estonia on 23 September 1989.

RSFSR Central Electoral Commission Meets

LD1011234189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Sergey Medvedev report]

[Text] Today in Moscow the first meeting of the Central Electoral Commission for the election of people's deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] took place.

[Medvedev] The electoral campaign in Russia has begun. Let me remind you that the Supreme Soviet has set the day of the elections for 4 March 1990. A little less than 4 months remain until this day. It is not very much time if one imagines the scale of the campaign that has begun. Today it was decided that the campaign will take place in 900 territorial and 168 national territorial constituencies of the republic. A list of them will be published tomorrow in the press. Tomorrow too the nomination of representatives to the membership of constituency electoral commissions will start.

What do you think? How much will the whole campaign cost? Vasiliy Ivanovich Kazakov, chairman of the central electoral commission, gave the figure of R17 million.

It has been decided to allot such sums to the election of people's deputies of the RSFSR alone. Whether this sum will be enough the campaign itself will show. Incidentally, we would like to remind voters today that the nomination of USSR people's deputy candidates of Russia will start 3 months before the elections, as is laid down by the law, on 4 December of this year.

[Begin recording] Vasiliy Ivanovich, today at the first meeting you formed the electoral constituencies. They are being formed on a new principle. Could you tell us briefly what is the particular nature of how they have been formed! [video shows Medvedev interviewing Kazakov]

[Kazakov] The principle is in the fact that for the first time in the republic a bicameral system is being introduced. So if previously only territorial constituencies were elected, now there are two types of constituency: the elected territorial constituency, which is formed on the basis of the number of voters, and the national territorial constituency in which the autonomous republics and the autonomous oblasts will be represented.

[Medvedev] Undoubtely questions from voters will arise, are arising already as to where to go.

[Kazakov] Today at our meeting, which is more or less the opening of the electoral campaign of the Russian Federation, the decision was made that the commission will work continuously starting 13 November and everyone who wants to can go there.

[Medvedev] To be received at the Central Electoral Commission, what is required?

[Kazakov] Nothing. Just let people come and they will be received.

[Medvedev] Write down the address of the commission: Moscow, Dom Soyuzov, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. [end recording]

Decrees Establish Election Okrugs

18000010

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 11 November 1989 publishes on pages 2 and 8 two decrees passed by the Central Electoral Commission for the Elections of RSFSR People's Deputies. The first is titled "On the Territorial Election Okrugs for the Elections of RSFSR People's Deputies," and the second is titled "On the National-Territorial Election Okrugs for the Elections of RSFSR People's Deputies." In accordance with Article 16 of the RSFSR Law "On the Elections of RSFSR People's Deputies", the decrees establish the formation of "territorial" and "national-territorial" election okrugs for the RSFSR elections of people's deputies. The decrees give a brief geographical description of each okrug formed, as well as the number of voters in the okrug. The former decree establishes 900 territorial okrugs, while the latter establishes 168 national-territorial okrugs.

Pugo, Others Attend Militia Day Celebration

LD1011234289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 89

[from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A ceremonial gathering, which took place today in Moscow, was devoted to Soviet Militia day. Comrades Pugo and Manayenkov, the chiefs of law and order bodies, and representatives of labor collectives of Moscow and the Moscow area took part in its work.